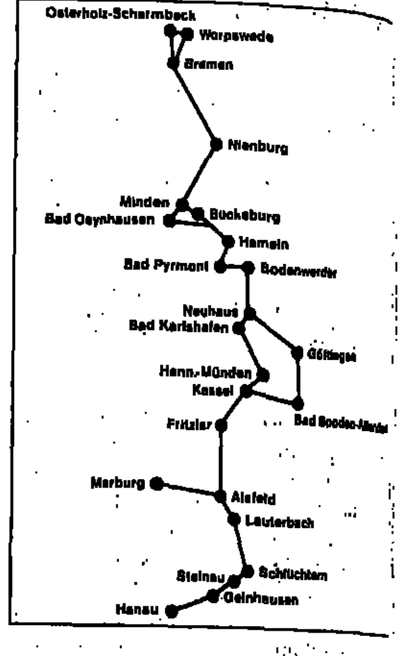












The German Tribune

Hamburg, 3 August 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1237 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Kremlin drops protocol for Genscher visit

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The Soviets have a rule that an interlocutor of inferior rank must first work his way up all the echelons before gaining access to the Kremlin leader.

That was scrapped for the visit to Moscow of Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Genscher met Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov straight away. This is unusual. It was also practical.

The last talks on key features of German-Soviet relations had taken place three years earlier when Mr Andropov had sought in vain to dissuade Chancellor Kohl from agreeing to the stationing of medium-range US missiles in West Germany.

Nato missile modernisation may have prompted the Soviet Union to set aside all thought of being on speaking terms with Western governments, but they much earlier had good reason to reappraise the value of detente.

There was the Soviet arms build-up, the Russian military intervention in Afghanistan and Moscow's behaviour in the Polish crisis.

German protestations that Ostpolitik continuity would continue to enjoy priority after power had changed hands in Bonn were little use during a phase when the entire East-West dialogue threatened to grind to a halt.

From then on what Mr Gorbachov had impressed on Herr Kohl at Mr Chernenko's funeral in March 1985 was more valid than ever.

The further development of relations between Bonn and Moscow, the Chancellor was told, would depend on the attitude the Federal Republic took on matters relating to Soviet security interests.

This Gorbachov formula could (and still can) be made to include anything that is not to Moscow's liking about Bonn's policy, ranging from Pershing 2 deployment and SDI participation to intensification of intra-German ties.

Partly as a result of wartime and postwar developments, the Federal Republic is the main US base in Europe and remains heavily dependent on American protection.

So it will always be a target for Soviet persuasion to abandon its pro-Western orientation and bids to isolate it in Europe.

The Soviet leader alone can say what the present position is and whether his formula continues to hold goodin the sense that Moscow's policy is to steer a wide berth of Bonn and concentrate instead on Paris, London and Rome.

Or has this policy proved unsuitable, always assuming that the "European house" is to be put in order and disarmament agreements in Europe are attainable?

Herr Genscher's talks in Moscow have shown that the Soviet leader's scepticism toward Bonn's policy on disarmament issues has far from thawed completely.

The Soviet leader continues to see the Bonn government as the European harbinger of Washington's intentions, accusing Bonn of inconsistency in looking after its own interests.

Mr Gorbachov even went so far as to offer Herr Genscher a most tempting bait. The Soviet Union, he said, would not bear empty hands if the Federal Republic were to pursue an active policy on disarmament matters. Despite such reservations and subterfuges the Soviet leader's statement that a new leaf was about to be turned in the history of Soviet-German relations must not be belittled.

The difference on principles between Bonn and Moscow will continue, and with it the frequent Soviet feeling that the Bonn government's policy is a hindrance.

Yet that need not mean there is no further scope for understanding and cooperation.

The Federal Republic could prove a useful partner for Mr Gorbachov in his bid to deal with the problem of conventional armament in Europe, setting up new and farther-reaching negotiating bodies regardless of Herr Genscher's view that agreement ought to be reached via the Stockholm and Vienna conferences.

There has been no agreement so far at either the Stockholm talks on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe or the Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe, but that need not mean agreement might not be more readily reached elsewhere and in a different permutation.

Besides, the Federal Republic can hardly claim to be a suitable advocate

Continued on page 5



The Moscow File: Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) in Washington with Secretary of State George Shultz. Herr Genscher reported on his visit to Moscow. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Bonn, Moscow agree on a technology pact

In coming to terms with Moscow on a scientific and technological cooperation agreement the Bonn government has scored a major success.

It is the first time Bonn has succeeded in including the Berlin staff of Federal government institutions in an exchange agreement with the East Bloc.

The door is now open for cooperation in other sectors, including staff of the Environmental Protection Agency, which is based in Berlin and has so far been consistently boycotted by the East.

The importance of the agreement can be judged from the 13 years it took to agree to terms.

When Willy Brandt and Leonid Brezhnev cleared the way in 1973 for a scientific and technological agreement on the basis of the Frank-Falin formula, since used on many occasions, no-one imagined that neither Chancellor Brandt nor his successor, Helmut Schmidt, would survive in office to see terms signed and sealed.

It was soon apparent, however, that agreement on scientific cooperation, cultural exchange and legal assistance was hampered not by the principle but by the details of arrangements for Berlin.

A crucial part was played by Federal government agencies and institutions located in the western sectors of the divided city.

Even after September 1971 Four-Power Agreement the Soviet Union refused to acknowledge such bodies, saying they were not in keeping with the city's status, and strictly ruled out their participation in exchange and cooperation schemes with East European states.

Bonn could not, of course, disown Federal government agencies, so although Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher made several attempts to reach agreement in the 1970s they refused to yield on the crucial issue.

When power changed hands in Bonn in 1982 Chancellor Kohl, who visited Moscow in 1983, arranged with Soviet leader Yuri Andropov to hold fresh negotiations.

Headway was made at last on the basis of a pragmatic approach mooted earlier in Bonn: that of naming Berlin scientists as individuals and not in their capacity as officials of Federal government bodies in the divided city.

In May 1984 Herr Genscher submitted to his Soviet counterpart, Mr Gromyko, a specific draft the Soviet Foreign Minister felt worth discussing.

But the overall climate of international relations took a turn for the worse and this proposal was shelved as part of the chill.

Chancellor Kohl did not give up. When, in connection with an exchange of letters with Mr Gorbachov, a fresh dialogue between Bonn and Moscow seemed a distinct possibility, he resurrected the much-vaunted project.

Negotiations were resumed and, after a few tactical sallies, reached the stage at which an agreement was ready to be signed by the time Herr Genscher was due to visit Moscow.

The result may not have been an ideal solution, but how could it have been as long as central legal aspects of Berlin's status were viewed differently by East and West despite the 1971 Four-Power Agreement?

In the circumstances all that could be

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Behind Hassan's rhetorical smokescreen

Frankfurter Rundschau

King Hassan need not have invited Shimon Peres to Morocco to find out that the Israeli Premier refuses to recognise the PLO and to fully withdraw Israeli forces from occupied territories.

So King Hassan's claim virtually to have sent Mr Peres packing when he refused to accept these terms is arguably best described as a rhetorical smokescreen.

Behind it the Moroccan monarch may be trying to conceal from his Arab friends a more realistic assessment of the problem.

Cool, calm and collected analysis of the situation is still, sad to say, not in demand in the Arab camp.

Politicians in the Arab world seem to incline toward merciless exaggeration that defies the objective approach that is more characteristic of the West.

Yet a logical analysis must inevitably arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The existence of the state of Israel is no longer a subject for discussion. The offer to recognise Israel, and not even directly, has become worthless as a *bargaining point*.

It is particularly unrealistic to expect Israel to relinquish East Jerusalem and the occupied territories in their entirety in return for such a vague concession.

2. Settlements for the occupied territories and people who live there can only be reached below this threshold.

3. Arab solidarity with the oppressed Palestinian people is not worth the paper such declarations are printed on. Not even Israel has imposed such suffering on the Palestinians and the PLO as a number of Arab states.

4. Disputes within the Arab world rule out a joint approach. Umma, the Islamic community that solves its problems in a fraternal manner, is a dreamlike linguistic Arabesque or, at best, a fond memory.

5. Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular must reach conclusions from this state of affairs, abandon untenable positions and unconditionally enter into genuine negotiations with Israel.

The mere suspicion that King Hassan might be inclined, and be it only on the quiet, to such a rational analysis ought to be a salutary shock for the Arab world.

This reasoning may well have formed part of the Moroccan monarch's calculations. He seems gradually to have grown tired of his vain attempts to hold an Arab summit conference.

He also seems sick and tired of the unholy influence of the rejectionist front, led by Syria and Libya, which has so far stymied even the slightest progress.

Yet the Arabs and their leaders are still nowhere near this analysis of their situation. For prestige reasons alone they seem virtually incapable of pursuing a truly realistic policy.

King Hassan was thus bound to arrive at a negative conclusion in taking stock of his talks with Mr Peres in order, paradoxically, to be able to approve the idea of continuing them.

So the significance of the meeting between King Hassan and Premier Peres lies not in the result of their deliberations but in the repercussions of the visit in Israel and among its allies on the one hand and in the Arab world on the other.

In Israel Mr Peres is likely to gain in standing, especially if, as now seems possible, he confers with President Mubarak of Egypt too.

These talks make nonsense of his domestic opponents' argument that nothing comes of readiness to negotiate with the Arabs.

Besides, they will reactivate debate in Israel on what concessions must realistically be made to the Palestinians to make progress toward peace.

The maximum demands made by the right-wing Likud block, up to and including annexation of the occupied territories, will be as unlikely to survive closer scrutiny as wishful Arab thinking.

In the Arab camp it will remain to be seen whether the moderate states, who have now, in King Hassan, come by a spokesman who is not suspect, can free themselves from the embrace of extremist positions.

This is sure to be a painful process on both sides. In its course a number of convenient simplifications will need to be jettisoned.

The current weakness, due in part to economic considerations, of hawks such as Syria and Libya leaves ground for hope that slow progress may be made in this direction.

This of course presupposes that the transfer of power planned in Israel for October does not shatter such hopes.

Some Arabs feel Likud leader and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's uncompromising stand is easier to understand than Mr Peres' relative readiness to compromise.

It is more in keeping with their own uncompromising approach.

Jörg Reckmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 July 1986)

Trip reveals depth of African feeling over sanctions

Süddeutsche Zeitung

If any further proof were needed of how disgruntled and embittered Africans have grown about Europe and the United States it was provided in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, touring southern Africa on a "peace mission" for the European Community, was given a pointedly unpleasant reception there.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda *told him* he was welcome as an individual but not as the representative of a government that had conspired with Washington to uphold the apartheid regime.

That was a stern reproof of a man who sought to prove by his tour that rather than impose sanctions the white minority regime in Pretoria could be persuaded by kind words and gentle urging to enter into a dialogue with the blacks, thereby ending apartheid by peaceful means.

President Kaunda's words of welcome were typical of feelings in black Africa, where Sir Geoffrey's journey was felt to be a waste of time, the Boers in South Africa were felt to be totally incorrigible and economic sanctions felt to be the only means of bringing Pretoria to its senses.

That, the Zambian leader says, is the only way to prevent a bloodbath in comparison with which, he fears, the French Revolution might in retrospect seem to have been like a children's Sunday school picnic.

The tragic trend toward violence and terror in South Africa and the question how further escalation can be forestalled have both sensitised and emotionalised African politicians.

In Dakar a square has been named after Soweto, the black township near Johannesburg, and a street after the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

This may be seen as a token of personal upset on the part of Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

Although he and his country are remote in every respect from South Africa and its problems, President Diouf has used his outgoing term as OAU president more than any of his predecessors to draw attention in Africa and elsewhere to the apartheid problem.

Much the same can be said of President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya who, although he too is no extremist, has emerged as a relentless warning voice and one of the staunchest advocates of sanctions against South Africa.

He and most other African heads of state seem genuinely outraged at the sanctions line taken by British Premier Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan.

Mrs Thatcher's argument that the main victims of sanctions would be blacks in South Africa and neighbouring countries is felt to be sheer hypocrisy.

In reality, as commentaries in a Kenyan Party newspaper for one put it, London is concerned only with its business interests in South Africa.

The almost unanimous African boycott of the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh has been the clearest sign of how far feelings have progressed in Africa that Washington and Whitehall will ignore at their peril.

Prestige and influence are at stake. The OAU Foreign Ministers' conference in Addis Ababa called for a boycott of Britain and named the Federal Republic of Germany for the first time, condemning Bonn for its economic cooperation with South Africa.

But Mrs Thatcher would hear nothing of either threats or friendly warnings from fellow-Commonwealth heads of government such as Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney and Australian Premier Bob Hawke.

All she has so far had to say is that the call for sanctions has come mainly from those who stand to lose least.

That isn't true, at least not as far as Africa is concerned. Zambia and Zimbabwe, both keen supporters of sanctions, stand to lose *heavily*.

Both are heavily reliant on South Africa economically. If South Africa were to be pressurised by means of sanctions it would try to pass the buck to its black front-line neighbours.

That wouldn't be difficult. Pretoria could bring the Zambian copper industry to a standstill and grind Zimbabwe's foreign trade to a halt.

President Kaunda of Zambia and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe are deliberately running these risks. But other states in southern Africa, such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, feel unable to run them.

All three oppose sanctions on grounds of sheer fear they might not survive. They are so dependent on South Africa and so weak that Pretoria would surely be tempted to use them as economic hostages.

If, as is to be expected, Sir Geoffrey returns from his peace mission empty-handed and if feeling within the European Community swings in favour of sanctions, what is to happen to these countries?

That is a question the supporters of economic sanctions have yet to answer.

Stefan Klein

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 July 1986)

Continued from page 1

(and was) agreed was a practical arrangement that did justice to Berlin's interests without raising fundamental principles of the city's status.

This has been achieved in respect of both scientific and technological cooperation and other major issues, such as data processing, space research, biotechnology and technological developments in transport.

The details of the agreement, especially the confusing network of protocol minutes, departmental agreements and project programmes and references to the category of persons affected (couched in deliberately vague terms), may annoy some.

Yet the fact remains that what was at issue, the inclusion of staff of Federal government agencies, has been agreed in detail — and in writing — with the Soviet Union.

Difficulties cannot be ruled out for the future, but what is currently possible has been accomplished and is bound to have a beneficial effect on existing or forthcoming negotiations with East Berlin.

Soviet readiness to come to terms and Mr Gorbachov's reference, in talks with Herr Genscher, to a new leaf in relations between Bonn and Moscow is a sign of political realism.

Moscow is clearly coming to feel that the Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats is increasingly likely to retain power in next January's general election.

Since the latest headway in Moscow Bonn's Ostpolitik has certainly ceased to be a stick with which to belabour the Federal government at home.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, Bonn, 23 July 1986)

The German Tribune
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.
Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.
In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Coalition can't lose election — but can it win?

Deutsches Allgemeines SONNTAGSBLATT

Few people seriously believe that the ruling conservative-liberal coalition government will lose the general election in January 1987.

For years Chancellor Kohl has been forecasting a result very much resembling the outcome of the 1983 election, where the CDU, CSU and FDP won 55.8 per cent of the vote between them.

The CDU's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, and vice-chancellor and former FDP chairman, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, are also optimistic. Genscher is hoping for a slight shift in favour of the FDP.

But there is always the risk that something unexpected might happen — and result in a Red-Green (SPD and Greens) majority.

This might not result in an SPD Chancellor, but it would mean that the centre-right parties would be unable to govern.

Other theoretical election outcomes are:

- an absolute majority for the CDU and CSU, which is neither Helmut Kohl's election objective nor very probable, or
- an absolute majority for the SPD, *which may well be* election objective of Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau, but is more or less out of the question in *terms* of current political realities (SPD general election result in 1983: 38.2 per cent).

So it looks as if another coalition government of some sort is likely. There are few likely possibilities.

The assessment of the balance of power and of the relations between the political parties in the Federal Republic is marked by the concept of two camps: on the one hand, the liberal-conservative camp (CDU, CSU and FDP); on the other hand, the social-democratic/alternative camp (SPD and Greens), often referred to as the Red-Green alliance.

According to this concept there are two major blocks characterised by completely irreconcilable views, with no substantial shifts in electoral support, and no possibility of breaking out of either of the camps.

It is obvious that above all the CDU and CSU are interested in promoting the two camp theory.

This has subjective and objective reasons.

Opinion polls confirm, objectively so to speak, that the coalition government in Bonn has a reasonably sound majority of between 51 and 52 per cent, whereas the Red-Green block will only be able to secure 48 to 49 per cent ofthe vote.

This explains the subjective reasons for *the two* camp theory:

- the more this balance of power (52 to 48) is generally accepted and taken for granted the greater the certainty that this will be the actual result on election day.

Nothing can mobilise a party's supporters more than prospects of success.

The CDU's opinion research expert in the Chancellery, Baldur Wagner, recently called upon his party's campaign managers during a speech at the Hanns Seidel Foundation to convey a feeling of "confidence in victory" to the party's supporters.

As Wagner emphasised, "people like to work hard for winners."

- the stronger the public belief in the two camp theory the more difficult it becomes for the coalition partner of the CDU/CSU, the FDP, to switch "fronts" and thus upset the balance of power, for example in three or four years time.

This plausible strategy only has two weak points.

The first is the FDP itself.

The FDP has survived the turbulence caused by its decision to change coalition partners almost four years ago much better than expected.

Although the party does have its problems in certain regions there is currently no doubt about its ability to obtain the compulsory minimum 5 per cent of the vote needed to move into the Bundestag.

Even without the admonitions of CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss the FDP knows that any flirting with the SPD at national level would be political suicide.

Yet is it good for the FDP to be politically monopolised to the extent claimed in the two camp theory?

Only recently, a leading member of the FDP said that he did not regard it as "clever" for the FDP to allow itself to be "pocketed" to such an extent by this theory.

Reliability within the coalition and independence as a political party are two different things altogether.

Loyalty to the coalition, for example, does not mean that the FDP has to go along with the confrontation-style strategy pursued by the CDU and CSU.

On the contrary, "a strategy of confrontation is alien to a party in which tolerance is an essential feature of its identity," say some FDP politicians.

The second weak point is the factor of incalculable risk.

For 51 to 49 per cent or 52 to 48 per cent means that there is a three per cent margin of error for this strategy.

Things could turn out the way former Greens member of the Bundestag, Hubert Kleinert (who has again been nominated in Hesse) explained in an interview with *Der Spiegel*.

He predicted that there would be a Red-Green majority of between eight and ten seats in the Bundestag.

Of course, it is not clear whether Johannes Rau and his Social Democrats would know what to do in such a situation.

But the important thing is that such an outcome is a real possibility.

For the CDU/CSU and their "It's us or chaos" election campaign strategy this Red-Green option poses a threat to the CDU/CSU election campaign managers but also provides support.

Heiner Geissler and his aide-de-camp Peter Radunski have now developed a two-pronged strategy.

Sinde the possibility of a Red-Green majority cannot be completely ruled out a warning against such a majority becomes all the more credible.

The at least theoretical risk of defeat is a kind of safeguard against excessive self-assurance.

All election campaign managers know that it is important to create an optimal mixture of optimism and tension.

The irony of the current situation is that the CDU/CSU and the Greens are sitting in the same boat, albeit at different ends.

The Greens also advocate the two camp theory.

From their point of view the SPD also has no chance of obtaining an absolute majority, which complies with the interests of the Greens.

After all, many Greens voters come from the SPD milieu, i.e. from common ground.

The remaining votes needed for a Red-Green majority, the Greens feel, should be siphoned off the other political "camp" or at least off the no man's land in the political "centre".

Peter Radunski has already coined the expression "Two camp election campaign".

This strategy, he says, requires a certain degree of unity and force of persuasion within one's own political camp.

This was an appeal to both the FDP and CSU not to exaggerate efforts to promote the images of their own parties.

No discord in the camp!

But isn't this theory rather oversimplified?

Surely, if there were two camps, shouldn't the dividing lines ("camp fences") then be discernible in the socio-cultural realities outside of the party-political context?

As Otto Schily (Greens) has rightly pointed out, however, this is not the case.

The borderlines between the various currents of thought do not run along the demarcations which exist in Bonn.

Social scientists talk of new paradigms in reference to the change in the basic attitudes in certain sections of society.

Criticism of economic growth, a growing awareness of the environment, an holistic way of thinking — feeling differently, thinking differently and living differently.

Changing concepts of life and objectives are emerging and are — to varying degrees — visible in all parties, influencing and changing public awareness.

The Greens are an expression of this shift in social ideas, but only of a part of it.

The desire for soft technologies and new life-styles, for example, is also more popular among CDU and CSU supporters than the nuclear energy lobby in Bonn and the coalition government care to admit.

There are signs of a new consensus throughout society.

This need not create majorities in day-to-day politics.

New party-political coalitions cannot be built upon this growing consensus.

On the other hand, it is also impossible to create strong political camps on foundations which are constantly shifting and changing. Are these camps just a mirage?

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 July 1986)

A pause before the campaign gets under way

Both the Bundestag and the Bundesrat have begun their summer recess with the coalition government having pushed through most of the items on its agenda.

Just over six months before next year's general election most of the parliamentary work has been done.

Party-political efforts will now concentrate on the election campaign rather than legislation.

Although it is too early to take final stock of this parliamentary term the battle plan for the forthcoming election campaign is already clear.

To begin with, the CDU and CSU will be fighting the election with CDU chairman and federal chancellor Helmut Kohl at the fore.

This is something which cannot be taken for granted.

The last three-and-a-half years have shown that Helmut Kohl has the broad support of his party.

Despite his unforgotten predecessor in office, contrary to the wishes of the "intelligentsia", and controry to the wishes of some sections of industry Kohl has managed to pull through serious defeats.

Despite numerous weaknesses the coalition has pushed through its political programme — missile deployment, consolidation of the budget and the amendment of labour laws. Kohl also managed to retain almost the whole of his cabinet.

Only Count Otto Lambsdorff was obliged to resign after having been taken to court on bribery charges.

This in itself is surprising. Despite the troubles, errors, embarrassments and slip-ups more stability has returned to German politics.

This stability was often submerged in the disputes between coalition parties.

The CDU and CSU, however, can fall back on this stability during their election campaign.

These parties, admittedly not Chancellor Kohl himself, have survived their first years in government unscathed.

Of course, they still depend on the FDP.

Even Strauss has in the meantime accepted this fact.

The FDP found it difficult to find its bearings after switching coalition partners.

But who would have prediced in 1982 that Hans Dietrich Genscher would today be promoting his own party's image at the expense of coalition loyalty and even considering alliances with the SPD.

The Free Democrats can hope for the support of voters who want the coalition to stay in government but who find it difficult to wholeheartedly support the idea of Helmut Kohl as Chancellor.

Great ideas, enthusiasm and impetus have certainly not emanated from this government.

It has often been hard enough to survive everyday politics.

However, who could claim that the Opposition parties have done much better?

The Greens have been unable to turn their chaotic movement into a party with realistic objectives.

Their last party conference made this all too clear.

Any party wishing to form a coalition with the Greens at national level will have to abandon its own identity.

The objectives are too radical.

Johannes Rau certainly doesn't want such a coalition. But what about the SPD?

Why are certain sections of his party trying to put their candidate for chancellor Rau in fetters on issues such as

Continued on page 15

■ 1944 PLOT TO KILL HITLER

East Berlin drops ideological blinkers

"We have now begun to see history in a new light," East German leader Erich Honecker recently said in an interview with a Swedish newspaper.

This new view of German history extends to and includes the July 1944 bid by Wehrmacht officers to assassinate and replace Hitler.

Until two years ago — and the 40th anniversary of the July 1944 conspiracy — the East Berlin view was that German resistance to the Nazis had been virtually limited to the Communists.

"The most consistent and leading force in the German anti-Fascist resistance movement was the Communist Party," the two-volume Dictionary of History published in East Berlin in 1983 proclaims.

Christian resistance was grudgingly acknowledged, as was the "courageous deed" of Count Stauffenberg, the man who planted the bomb that nearly killed Hitler on 20 July 1944.

But East German historians have invariably pointed out that the Stauffenberg group, along with progressive members of the Kreisau circle, remained a minority and were unable to exert a decisive influence on the overall political character of the July 1944 conspiracy.

The Dictionary of History defines the 1944 conspiracy as a "failed attempt to putsch by leading circles of the German monopoly bourgeoisie and military reactionaries with the aim of eliminating Adolf Hitler and salvaging the economic and political power positions of German imperialism by means of an anti-Soviet entente with the imperialist Western powers."

Since the 40th anniversary of the 1944 coup the official East Berlin view has changed considerably. The failed coup is now seen as a "courageous deed of historic importance." What the conspirators did for the sake of the German people is stressed.

East German historians are agreed that the courage and personal sacrifice of the 20 July 1944 coup men deserves a place of honour in the history of German anti-Fascist resistance.

The conspiracy against Hitler was an expression of resistance on the part of forces in the bourgeoisie, the nobility and the military leadership whose aim had been to eliminate the Hitler regime and end the war.

Most members of the conspiracy had come from the "ruling classes" but retained their sense of reality.

Their tragic death was a lesson for the present day, showing the need for "forces of peace and progress to unite regardless of political, social and ideological differences."

The 1944 coup is thus seen as an early form of what is termed the "coalition of common sense." History may, of course, in this instance be used as a political ploy.

Herr Honecker constantly calls for a "coalition of common sense" and for all who want to forestall a nuclear war to join forces regardless of political, religious, social and ideological differences.

The encouraging consequence is, nonetheless, that East German historians are in the process of reappraising German resistance to Hitler, without their previous ideological blinkers and doing justice to many whose role they previously condemned. East German TV has played a leading role in popularising this new view of German resistance and the 20 July 1944 conspirators.



Stauffenberg remembered in Berlin exhibition (Photo: AP)

There can be no forgetting the two programmes East German TV screened on the 40th anniversary of the coup in 1984: "The Attempt to Assassinate Hitler" by Rolf Schnabel and "We Have Nothing to Regret," a documentary about the Kreisau circle.

The documentary combined present-day interviews with the conspirators' wives — Countess von Moltke, Countess von Wartenberg and Rosemarie Reichwein — and historic records, documents and letters.

East German TV was first to broadcast the film "The 20 July Wives," a documentary by Irmgard von zur Mühlen, the West Berlin film-maker, last September.

Sender Freies Berlin failed, on behalf of ARD, Channel 1 of Federal Republic TV, to snap up the film.

ZDF, Channel 2, has now screened it to mark the 42nd anniversary of the 1944 coup.

East German TV this year screened another unusual documentary, a film about *Major-General Henning von* Tresckow, one of the key figures in the military wing of German resistance to Hitler.

"Chief of the General Staff or Death on the Scaffold" was the title Günter Marquardt and Ulrich Teschner gave their film, subtitled "Stations in the Life of Henning von Tresckow."

The title refers to a comment by the commanding officer of the 1st Foot Guards Regiment at the end of the First


Frankfurter Allgemeine

World War, Count Eulenburg, who is reported to have said about Tresckow, then a young lieutenant:

"He will end up being either Chief of the General Staff or as a rebel on the scaffold."

The film begins with historic footage of "Potsdam Day," 21 March 1933, the day Hitler was inaugurated as Reich Chancellor in the garrison church at Potsdam.

The 9th Infantry Regiment, renowned for consisting almost entirely of officers from the nobility, is seen on parade, with Oberleutnant von Tresckow marching as adjutant of its 1st Battalion.

This may well be the only film footage of Tresckow that exists. In 1933 he was all in favour of Hitler, whom he confidently expected to arrange for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

Henning von Tresckow, born on 10 January 1901 in Magdeburg, took several years to realise that his sole target must be to rid Germany and the world of the worst criminal in its history.

He only gradually realised Hitler was a criminal, one such occasion being 30 June 1934, the Röhm putsch, Hitler's day of reckoning with the SA and an opportunity for the SS to eliminate a number of Hitler's opponents, such as General von Schleicher.

Another was the 1938 Fritsch crisis, when General von Fritsch was hounded out of office as commander in chief of the Wehrmacht by means of defamation.

Then there was the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* on 9 November 1938, when synagogues and Jewish institutions were gutted and the go-ahead was given for a manhunt of Jews.

The year 1938 was a turning point for Tresckow, as it was for Admiral Canaris and Major-General Hans Oster.

From 1938 on he concentrated on plans for resistance. In the wake of criminal orders in the first half of 1941 he came to feel active resistance to the "Anti-Christ" Hitler was indispensable.

He appealed to his uncle, Field-Marshal von Bock, who was commanding officer of the Central Army Group in the Russian campaign, not to follow these orders and to join with other commanders in refusing to obey them.

But his efforts failed in this respect just as did his later attempts to gain the support of Field-Marshal von Manstein and Field-Marshal von Kluge for active resistance to Hitler.

In autumn 1941 Tresckow, who was then first general staff officer in the Central Army Group, succeeded by means of skilled recruitment in setting up a group of conspirators who are felt to have been probably the largest and most powerful military opposition to Hitler that existed in the Third Reich.

Between 1941 and 1943 he worked on bids to stage a coup against Hitler, maintaining links with civilian resistance groups. But all attempts were doomed to failure.

In autumn 1943 he enlisted the support of Colonel von Stauffenberg.

Tresckow was chief of general staff of his army group from 1943 and a major-general from spring 1944.

The idea of using a revised version of the Valkyrie plan, originally devised to crush domestic unrest, for a coup after the assassination of Hitler was his. Plans were completed by autumn 1943.

The East German TV film tries to paint an objective picture of Tresckow the man, the soldier and the patriot.

It includes an interview with his daughter, Uta von Aretin, who lives in Mainz. There are also interviews with Philipp von Boeselager, Eva Olbricht, the 93-year-old widow of General Olbricht, who lives in Berlin, and Margarete von Hardenberg, the last-named interview dating back to 1979.

Boeselager says Tresckow was first and foremost a Prussian and recalls that the motto of the 9th Infantry Regiment in Potsdam was "Ich dien" (I Serve).

Tresckow, he says, felt that meant it was the nobility's privilege to serve in the first ranks. We certainly know what

Continued on page 5

Heroes recalled in permanent exhibition

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Field-Marshal Erwin von Witzleben wrote in 1944 to Count Schwerin that he would be at home for a while on 15 July.

This cryptic message meant that Count Stauffenberg, a Wehrmacht general staff colonel, would be trying on 15 July to assassinate Hitler.

The attempt on Hitler's life was not in fact made until five days later. The letter is on show in the permanent exhibition on German resistance to the Nazi regime at the Bendler Block on the Landwehrkanal in Berlin.

In the Third Reich the Bendler Block was the headquarters of the *Wehrmacht's* home army and territorial reserve. It was also the hub of the 1944 conspiracy against Hitler.

An exhibition on *military* resistance to the Nazi regime was housed here after the war. The 300 square metres exhibition space has now been extended to over 1,000 square metres.

It documents the *entire range* of German resistance to the Nazis, including both impotent opposition by individuals and opposition both overt and *covert* by Social Democrats, Communists, Christians, Liberals and Conservatives.

Members of the *resistance* are not cast in heroic guise. An attempt is made to show them realistically torn between careerism and conformism, isolation, terror and partial agreement with Nazi ideas, not to mention the background of tradition and personal ties.

Family photographs are featured to show what many of the conspirators risked. "They endangered not only themselves and their wives but also their children," says Professor Steinbach, the historian in charge of the exhibition.

Wall charts, document files and showcase displays testify to resistance to the Nazis by the working-class movement, by Christians, Liberals and Conservatives.

We are shown the beginnings of the military conspiracy, the various unsuccessful coup plans between 1938 and 1943 and the 20 July *1944 coup* and its failure.

Letters, diary entries, minutes, leaflets and Gestapo files illustrate graphically but two-dimensionally the course of events.

There are few other optical aids. Interrogation scenes could have been simulated, Professor Steinbach says. A whipping block or a machine gun could have been put on show. But that would hardly have been suitable for a permanent exhibition.

Only a selection of the 1,500 items and 4,000 photos and other documents collected is currently on show. The exhibition will not open in full until next year.

In many instances the original documents are not on show; they are just copies. But the new photographic process used makes them look strikingly realistic, up to and including the shades of colour of the paper on which they are printed.

Liselotte Müller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 July 1986)

■ PEOPLE

Herbert Wehner, the SPD's architect of change

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Few politicians in Germany can have been more enigmatic over the past 40 years than Social Democrat Herbert Wehner, who this month turned 80.

Few in West Germany have been shrouded in more mystery than this former Communist who joined the SPD after the war and sat as a Social Democrat in the Bonn Bundestag from 1949 to 1983.

He is still looked upon by many as a powerful but puzzling figure even though he is retired.

There are good reasons why. Hardly anyone can be said to combine such glaring opposites as he does, starting with his public speaking, which ranges *in repertoire* from explosive outbreaks of *extreme vehemence* and intensity to dulcet tones of almost sentimental warmth and intimacy.

This is but a mirror image of the characteristics he combined in his political career: extraordinary toughness and unusual sensitivity, seemingly inexhaustible energy and almost unparalleled propensity to feel injured.

He could be both unbounden and self-disciplined, gruff and unassuming. He combined what at times was a brutal determination to get his own way with a touching sense of humanity.

He was both aggressive and ready to help, with a capacity to dominate and a capacity to be of service. These opposites seemed at times to tear him apart.

Yet for over 30 years he placed these characteristics and capabilities at the service of the targets he envisaged, and in the pursuit of these targets he needed and wanted to see an SPD capable of gaining a majority at the polls and forming a government.

He needed a Social Democratic Party with a sense of proportion, an eye for reality and the power of self-discipline. This triad can be said in many ways to have been the measure of what Herbert Wehner did, said and wrote for 34 years.

He ranks alongside Kurt Schumacher, Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt in the category of politicians whose contribution toward the post-war progress of the SPD has been unsurpassed, particularly in his case during the 17 years in which the Social Democrats made the transition that took them out of Opposition and into power.

Had it not been for the tower of strength that "Uncle Herbert" was for the SPD the Social Democrats would have been most unlikely to come to power in Bonn in 1966.

Had it not been for Wehner they would have been unlikely to retain power for 16 years until the end of 1982.

He played a major part in the SPD's progress from a working-class to a popular party. In the early 1960s he did more, as deputy leader of the SPD, than anyone else to ensure that the Social Democrats took their 1959 Godesberg manifesto seriously and came to be seen as a party fit to govern.

The 1966-69 Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats was essentially his brainchild. It was the SPD's breakthrough to power in Bonn: without it the SPD-FDP coalition would hardly have been conceivable three years later.

If it had been up to him the Social Democrats would have stayed in joint harness with the Christian Democrats for several years more. He hoped to forge lasting links with the Christian Social wing of the CDU/CSU.

He failed in this bid and felt that it was indeed a failure. But that didn't prevent him from joining forces with Wolfgang Mischnick, his counterpart as leader of the FDP parliamentary party, to ensure the cohesion of the SPD-FDP coalition for 13 years.

If it had not been for Wehner, the SPD would probably have lost power in 1972 when CDU leader Rainer Barzel failed by only a hair's breadth to topple the Social and Free Democratic coalition by a motion of constructive no-confidence.

it had not been for Wehner, the April


There is more than one Herbert Wehner. (Photo: Sven Simon)

1974 Guillaume affair (Günter Guillaume, a member of Willy Brandt's staff at the Chancellor's Office, was found guilty of espionage for East Berlin) could easily have meant curtains for the Social Democrats as the ruling party in Bonn; as it was, Willy Brandt stepped down and was replaced as Chancellor by Helmut Schmidt.

If it had not been for Wehner, Chancellor Schmidt would have been unlikely to retain power until autumn 1982. Throughout this period Herbert Wehner saw his main task as being that of ensuring as long as possible that the SPD remained capable of governing.

When the Social Democrats were no longer able to hold on to power it was the end of the road politically for Wehner as the SPD's parliamentary party leader.

He may often have seemed difficult to fathom and difficult even to approach. His tactics were also hard to grasp at times.

But his objectives were always clear: democratic consolidation, social justice, social security, equal opportunities, industrial democracy, understanding and normalisation of relations with the East, human easements in divided Germany, European integration and reconciliation with the victims of Nazi war crimes, especially the Poles and the Jews in Israel.

His was a constant and at times inconvenient warning voice in and toward a political party that tends almost by nature to lose sight of reality in the pursuit of theories and principles, utopias and programmes.

Wehner felt one of his main tasks was to counteract this tendency. He succeeded in doing so for over two decades, surely his most outstanding achievement.

It was an achievement from which not only the Social Democrats benefited. It was for the good of the country as a whole.

The Federal Republic could not survive in the long term as a democracy if only one of the two leading parties was fit to govern, so the crucial part he played in the 1960s and 1970s in ensuring that the SPD was fit to govern was an indispensable contribution toward the viability and stability of German democracy.

This contribution is the reason why the historic importance of the part played by Herbert Wehner in post-war Germany is at times compared with that of Konrad Adenauer.

Wehner was 80 on 11 July. Those who are privileged to visit him occasionally will have been struck by the way age and time, experience, effort and suffering, a hard life and illness have made their mark on him.

Wehner still takes a keen interest in political developments even though he seldom plays much part in them. He seems bitter and upset rather than satisfied and at peace with the world.

He says little but what he has to say is clear. He fears that much of what he felt to be so important is in jeopardy again — and that much has already been forfeited.

In conversation he no longer concentrates almost exclusively on politics. Instead he clearly enjoys explaining snapshots taken during a visit paid last year to Dresden, where he was born and grew up.

He had last seen the city he has never ceased to love when he was forced to emigrate on account of the Nazis. He was invited to revisit it by East Germany through East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel.

Vogel and Wehner have helped countless people to leave the GDR in their time, enabling them to join their families in the West or securing their release from prison.

Lost in thought as he pores over his snapshots, describing the Dresden of his childhood, a fleeting and almost embarrassing expression of happiness lights up the face of the SPD's grand old man.

Jürgen Kellermeier

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 July 1986)

Genscher visit

Continued from page 1

on matters relating to nuclear arms control.

In this context one is bound to wonder whether the resurrection of the bilateral framework agreement on scientific and technological cooperation after 13 years on the shelf might not show Moscow to be more keenly aware of the Federal Republic's opportunities and readier to put them to selective use.

The Frank-Falin formula on the inclusion of West Berlin in East Bloc countries' treaties with the Federal Republic is an idea that dates back to 1973.

As for the idea of naming individuals from West Berlin for exchange schemes (rather than their Federal government institutions to the location of which in Berlin the Soviet Union takes exception), it is hardly so magnificent that it couldn't have been devised earlier.

So the winds of change in ties between Bonn and Moscow can be attributed to changed requirements and interests on both sides rather than to any sudden inspiration.

The embargo on contacts has been lifted and ties with Bonn are no longer taboo.

Josef Riedmiller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 23 July 1986)

Continued from page 4

he said to his sons about Prussia when they were confirmed in the Potsdam garrison church in 1943.

"The concept of freedom can never be separated from the true spirit of Prussia," he told them. "Without this link it runs the risk of being degraded to soulless militarism and narrow-minded insistence on being in the right."

In 1944, as a commanding officer at the front, Tresckow no longer had any opportunity of personally assassinating Hitler.

Stauffenberg, seriously injured though he was, was the only active conspirator in a position to plant the bomb that nearly killed Hitler on 20 July 1944.

When he voiced doubts Tresckow told him the attempt on Hitler's life must go ahead cost what it might. And if it failed, the coup must still go ahead in Berlin.

"It is no longer merely a matter of the practical purpose but of the resistance movement having risked the crucial cast of the die in the eyes of the world and of history. Everything else is immaterial in comparison."

If Stauffenberg had not planted the bomb, Boeselager says, he could imagine only Tresckow as an alternative assassin. He was certainly fearless.

But Tresckow was forced to look on idly from the Eastern front as the coup failed. On the morning after, 21 June 1944, he drove out on a reconnaissance mission.

He drove well ahead of the front line. The chart he had on him at the time is seen in the film. He committed suicide, both avoiding torture and saving the lives of many of his friends.

On 27 July 1944 Henning von Tresckow was buried in Wartenberg, now Polish, where the family had its castle and estate.

On 5 August 1944 his name was first mentioned in connection with the conspiracy. His family were arrested.

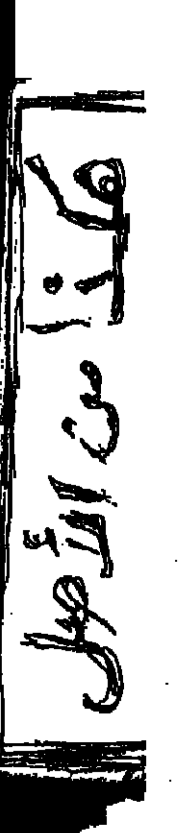
On 13 November 1944 a squad from Sachsenhausen concentration camp dug up his coffin and took it back to the camp, where prisoner Fabian von Schlabrendorff confirmed that the corpse was that of Major-General von Tresckow.

The corpse was cremated in the concentration camp crematorium and Tresckow's ashes were cast to the winds.

ARD and ZDF would do well to buy from East German TV and transmit as soon as possible this well-made, honest and convincing film, which tells without the least ideological hang-up the life and times of one of the leading members of the 20 July 1944 coup.

Peter Jochen Winters

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 July 1986)



Merchant shipping fleets in Nato member countries fell by 40 million gross registered tonnes (grt) between 1980 and 1985. This is equivalent to the total tonnage of the Japanese merchant fleet.

Over the last 10 years, merchant fleets of the East Bloc Comecon countries increased slightly, from 24 to 25 grt. Most of Comecon's vessels are designed with a military function in view.

The military significance of merchant fleet statistics was the subject of a meeting organised by Nato's Atlantic command and held at the United States Marine Academy in Annapolis.

Two reasons why the Nato merchant fleets are shrinking are that older loss-making ships are being scrapped and replaced by larger container vessels; and the tendency to cut costs by sailing under flags of convenience — especially tankers and bulk carriers.

It was pointed out that big container vessels were not ideal for war. Tanks and loaded trucks were generally too big or heavy for containers. Few ports had the facilities to handle container ships.

Another question was, in a time of war, how could governments lay their hands on ships sailing under flags of convenience? A British delegate described what happened during the Falklands war.

Nato's commander-in-chief in Europe, General Rogers, estimates that in a longer war, he would need 400 ships extra every month from Nato countries. Governments can supply that many at the moment but if, over the next five years, the trend continues and 36 per cent of tankers and 20 per cent of bulk carriers go to flags of convenience, ship supply could become a headache.

The chairman of the German shipowners organisation, *J.H. de la Trobe*, pointed out at Annapolis that the Soviet fleet not only transports goods between other countries and the Soviet Union, but also between other countries — at prices that undercut competitors in the West.

Herr de la Trobe said a certain shipbuilding and repair capacity must be maintained so that there are alway enough skilled workers. Ship-building must not be allowed to become the property of countries in the East Bloc and the Far East.

Between 1980 and 1985, British grt figure fell from 28 million to 14 million, the Norwegian from 12 to 8 million, the Italian from 12 to 9, the German from 9 to 6, the Spanish from 8 to 6, and the Greek (the biggest Nato shipping country) from 37 to 31 million.

Denmark's and Netherland's fleets decreased only slightly. Canada's, Belgium's and Portugal's actually rose slightly. Bigger rises were by the Turkish (1.5 million to 3.7 million) and the American (17.5 million to 19.5 million) fleets.

De la Trobe told the meeting that transportation capacity of German-owned shipping had fallen from 19 million tons (deadweight) in 1978 to 12 million tons at the beginning of 1986. Half of this tonnage was under flags of convenience.

The meeting examined the rapid changes in western shipping structures and the accompanying decline of western shipbuilding to discover whether Nato countries could, in the case of an international crisis or even war, fall back on enough ships flying their own flags.

The key question was under what circumstances ships can be requisitioned and crews conscripted for essential services.

■ SHIPPING

Military concern over West's shrinking merchant fleets



In addition, it is vitally important that the ships available in such a situation are adequately equipped for wartime demands.

Only about one third of military goods can be transported via container ships.

Tanks and loaded trucks are generally too big or heavy to be transported in containers.

The big hatchways of conventional freighters are better suited.

Most freighters of this kind have their own cargo-handling gear and can therefore call in at smaller ports.

Only a few big international ports have the special loading facilites needed for big container ships.

During recent years the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has built more and more roll-on/roll-off ships, where loaded trucks can be driven straight on and off board over stern ramps, just like on ferries.

When does the use of flags of convenience become critical? One British admiral said that during the Falklands war, enough ships were found.

The owners of many of the ships flying a foreign flag, he explained, are nationals of Nato countries. Their ships *can be chartered. It's a matter of insurance.*

If governments pay the price they will get the ships they need.

Some of these chartered ships, for example, were used during the Falklands war, their crews coming from the Far East.

This system operated quite smoothly. In other words, the ships needed for wartime purposes do not have to fly the national flag during peacetime.

The Falklands war, however, was a minor war and the risks for the ships and crews involved were also limited.

It cannot be compared with a major and longer East-West conflict.

Nato experts estimate that Europe would need about 2,800 shiploads per month during a longer war, 400 of these for the transportation of reserve troops, 400 for supplies for troops in Europe, and 2,000 to cater for civilian needs.

General Rogers has estimated that he would require 400 ships a month from Nato governments to fulfil his task in a longer war.

At the moment the governments are able to assure General Rogers that he would get them.

However, if during the next five years a further 36 per cent of tankers and 20 percent of bulk carriers decide not to fly their national flags this might not be that easy.

Ship owners, as de la Trobe pointed out, don't worry about naval power, Nato or defence.

Their primary concern is a sound profit-and-loss account and their primary obligation is to their shareholders.

Governments are responsible for defence.

They should give commercial shipping exact instructions on tonnage, the qualifications and composition of crews as well as draw up agreements with countries with flags of convenience on the requisition of ships.

Or, of course, they should foot the bill for additional costs. The same applies to the shipyards.

A certain shipbuilding and repair capacity as well as a certain number of qualified workers should be retained in Nato countries.

Shipbuilding must not be allowed to become the exclusive domain of the Eastern bloc countries or the shipyards in the Far East.

This line of argument seemed to boil down to a call for more state subsidies.

There are, however, important economic arguments against subsidisation.

Merchant ships should generally be bought where they are cheapest.

Nevertheless, this general guiding principle does not weaken the security policy argument that merchant shipping and shipbuilding are elements of civil defence.

What is needed, therefore, is a clear definition of needs in the eventuality of war.

Steps should be taken to make sure that political control can be at least regained over some of the ships owned by nationals of Nato countries but sailing under flags of convenience.

The possibility of a bonus scheme for ship owners who take into account defence aspects when building ships should not be ruled out.

American legislation has already made headway in this field.

This is reflected in the tonnage increase of merchant shipping flying the American flag.

A further possibility would be to prevent Soviet shipping from providing transport services which are below cost price, a development which has driven many western ships out of the shipping market.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 July 1986)

The once flourishing Hanseatic city of Lübeck is falling on hard times: unemployment is 14 per cent and growing: it has been called the Liverpool of the north.

Now another shipyard has collapsed. The fate of the Harmstorf shipbuilding group is the latest warning to the city's remaining — and ailing — shipyards of what lies ahead.

Almost 2,400 people work in the Baltic port's three shipbuilding companies. Three times as many work for subcontracting firms dependent on the shipyards. Work on the last orders is almost finished.

If there are no new orders soon all three yards might have to close before the end of the year, say the trade unions.

A sudden jump in unemployment would plunge the city of 208,000 into a deep financial crisis. It would further cut tax revenue and increase welfare costs.

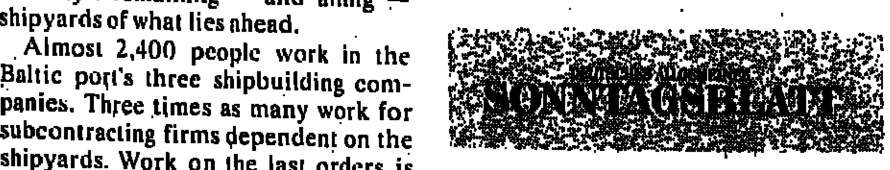
Trade unions and local politicians expect unemployment to top 20 per cent if the yards are forced to close.

The 13,300 who would be tossed out on to the streets would have little chance of getting another job of any sort, let alone one needing their skills.

Labour Office statistics show that over the past 10 years, 5,000 jobs have been lost in Lübeck as a result of firms going bust or moving away from the city.

In Schleswig-Holstein as a whole, on the other hand, almost 35,000 jobs have been created.

Lübeck, decline of once-rich maritime city



Only five years ago no more than 4,590 people were officially looking for a job in Lübeck. Unemployment was 4.7 per cent.

The financial effects of unemployment are being felt. There is only enough money for makeshift road repair work and hardly any for repairs to public buildings.

Schools in Lübeck haven't got enough teaching material or schoolbooks.

In some cases parents have been asked to share the costs.

The city employs 700 people on supplementary benefits for an hourly wage of one mark to work in municipal laundries, cemeteries, market-gardens and parks.

The 700 are only supposed to do jobs which do not jeopardise permanent jobs, but the trade unions are quite rightly complaining that some of them at least should have either employment contracts or be employed at a standard rate.

But Lübeck cannot afford it. Of last year's DM700m city budget DM150m alone was needed for supplementary welfare payments.

If this figure is seen in relation to the city's tax revenue the seriousness of the problem becomes even clearer.

In 1985 Lübeck received DM206m in direct taxes. That means that 75 per cent of every mark goes towards supplementary welfare payments.

Most of these are necessitated by unemployment, say the head of the German Trades Union Federation (DGB) in Lübeck, Dieter Mainka, and Lübeck's city treasurer, Gerd Rischau.

As a result of the tougher legal stipulations laid down by the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg an increasing number of people are no longer entitled to unemployment benefit and assistance and are forced to live off welfare payments, which have to be paid by local communities.

A further loss of jobs in Lübeck would probably mean the deathblow for the historic city.

Tax revenue would continue to decrease and demands on the budget would keep on spiralling.

The population would have less spending power and more and more young and qualified workers would leave the city. The fate of this city depends on the future of its three shipyards.

Heiner Brock

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 July 1986)

■ LABOUR

Managements, unions, battle to get to grips with technologies of the future

Like children gazing starry-eyed at construction kit displays in toy shop windows, grown men pored over a 50:1 scale model of a robot welding unit.

The robot has been designed for their firm, a machine tool maker, Trumpf, in Ditzingen, near Stuttgart. Production manager Karl Otto Fetzer, said the model had first been shown to the works council and then the rest of the staff were allowed to study it at leisure.

Trumpf was featured in a Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV series as an example of the economically successful and socially acceptable introduction of new technology. A book was produced of the the series.

If one is to believe the newly published recommendations on new technology by Gesamtmetall, the engineering employers' association, companies such as Trumpf are harbingers of a brave new working world.

"The repercussions of the use of new technology on staff and the job opportunities it affords must be discussed in good time with the works council," says Gesamtmetall.

Most Germans will be familiar with the engineering employers' association as the adversary of IG Metall, the 2.5-million-member iron, steel and engineering workers' union, in the annual wage talk rounds.

"Including company staff is an essential prerequisite for the smoothest possible introduction of new technology," the employers' association says.

Franz Steinkühler, who is due to take over from Hans Mayr as general secretary of IG Metall, is not overjoyed, although he is busy overriding union opposition to the introduction of computerisation at IG Metall itself.

He is worried a situation might arise in which, as he puts it, "we will combine 19th century corporate hierarchies and 21st century technologies."

Although the microchip revolution has wrought fundamental changes in working conditions in many factories, workshops and offices, ownership and decision-making structures remain unchanged — which is just how the management want to see them stay.

Berthold Leibinger, the owner of Trumpf, is a text-book example of this.

At the Social Democrats' engineering congress last spring he ruled out extension of industrial democracy as it now stands, saying worker participation in management hampered management flexibility.

This might have been borrowed verbatim from the welfare and social policy guidelines lately laid down by the Confederation of Employers' Associations.

The trade unions in contrast feel workers' rights and the rights of works councils must be extended, otherwise the introduction of computerised design, construction and administrative facilities will be to the detriment of employees.

The 1976 Worker Participation Act, 10 years old at the beginning of July, is not deserving of its name, says Ernst Breit, general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation.

A survey commissioned by the DGB from a Dortmund social research unit concludes that the Act provides solely for information, not management participation, and even that is subject to strict limitations.

Most staff representatives on companies' administrative boards felt, on balance, they were adequately briefed on investment and staff planning.

But an overwhelming majority of worker directors felt the information they were given about the effect of investment on jobs and staff qualifications and earnings left much to be desired.

Even so, the trade unions concede that a growing number of employers have come to realise that the new technologies and their consequences are too complex to be dealt with by means of the old "masters and men" approach.

In a bid to participate staff in decision-making procedures new social techniques and acceptance strategies have been adopted by large firms — and smaller companies too.

Most amount to upgrading the conventional system of staff bonus award schemes for improvement suggestions.

A specially trained member of staff presides at regular intervals over meetings of interested employees to work out how weak links in the way the company is run can be strengthened.

The weak link where tomorrow's machinery is concerned is the same as it was with yesterday's: the "interface" between man and machine.

Learning

As a rule, says IG Metall's technology expert, Karin Benz-Overhage, jobs are not fleshed out until afterwards, as it were, by which time extremely detrimental repercussions for staff affected have come to light or the economic efficiency and flexibility of the automated process or system are in jeopardy.

More and more managements are learning from such mistakes. Expensive new machines can prove a disastrous mistake if they are not put to best use in the relentless struggle for shares of the market.

Experts estimate that only 10 per cent of the potential of new technologies has so far been harnessed but progress so far has shown that nightmares of an unmanned factory will remain science fiction.

Hans-Jürgen Warnecke of the Fraunhofer Institute of Production Engineering and Automation, Stuttgart, admits even as a keen supporter of industrial robots that the third industrial revolution will cost more jobs than it creates new ones.

But installations will still, he says, need to be managed, maintained and supervised and material used in manufacturing will still need to be prepared for use.

In ideal conditions, as at Trumpf's robot welding department, the operator can programme his own machine, taking his pick of over 300 different programmes.

This adds a new dimension to the process of lifelong learning, a slogan almost forgotten after the demise of 1960s and 1970s educational and vocational training euphoria.

Skills men have taken decades to acquire can be made worthless overnight by machines. Operators no longer handle materials; they merely check abstract symbols on a monitor screen.

Even so, skilled workers have a future. A Prognos survey commissioned by the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg, estimates their numbers will increase from 53 to 59 per cent of the work force by the turn of the century.

The number of college and university graduates will even double, whereas semi-skilled and unskilled workers will fall by the wayside.

They long made up a majority of the factory labour force but are now expected to decline in number from over 30 to 20 per cent.

Tomorrow's factory is fast changing today's vocational training arrangements. In the engineering industry unions and employers have agreed to merge 54 conventional trades in a subtler blend of 10 categories with a future.

Yet there are still few practical signs of what was billed as a "qualification drive." The shortage of skilled men about which employers complain is a sure sign of slow progress in this respect.

"What use is investment mainly in new technology to modernise industry," Professor Erich Staudt of the Institute of Applied Innovation Research, Duisburg, asked at the Gesamtmetall conference, "when staff qualifications fail to keep pace with technological development?"

The Trumpf story shows that the new factory can be run using today's manpower. The company now has a payroll of 1,800 and has increased turnover per head from DM60,000 to DM240,000 a year over the past 10 years.

This was made possible by an extremely flexible computerised production system enabling the company to cater for customers' special requests at low cost.

Herr Leibinger proudly claims to have carried out this improvement with the same staff he had 10 years ago. Starting with their initial skills Trumpf relied on a kind of reverse domino principle.

Storemen were trained as machine-minders. Machine operators were trained as fitters. Fitters were trained as programmers.

New technology has at least to some extent made monotonous assembly-line work less indispensable.

"As far as possible jobs must be combined in the round and leeway must be extended," the new technology recommendations say — and they are the employers' recommendations, not the trade unions'.

The unions are sceptical — both whether these good intentions will work, and whether the employers have suddenly abandoned their traditional outlook.

The unions have demonstrated by IG Metall's change of mind on flexible working hours that they are capable of

Continued on page 8

■ BUSINESS

Run of big companies in trouble raises doubts about supervisory boards

The quality of supervisory boards of German companies is coming increasing under fire. One accusation is that unsuitable people sit on them.

Supervisory boards are control councils. They act as a sort of upper house to management boards, which are in charge of day-to-day management.

Weight to the criticism is lent by the number of large companies which have run into trouble despite having allegedly competent supervisory boards containing some brilliant banking talent: Salamander, WMF, Stollwerck, Conti-Gummi and AEG.

Now a survey reveals that money might have something to do with it. The Kienbaum organisation says that management board members of companies with public share listings are now paid on average DM 305,000 a year, three times as much as 20 years ago.

But fees have gone down for supervisory board members — from DM13,300 in 1964 to DM13,100 in 1984. Kienbaum warns that this trend is likely to have a damaging effect.

Another survey, by Professor Knut Bleicher of a Swiss group, says that many members of supervisory boards are dissatisfied, particularly the younger ones.

Sometimes supervisory board control is so competent that a company does just get into trouble just once. After it recovers, it slides again.

A mechanical engineering company called Schiess AG which twice ran into trouble on either side of a rescue operation in the late 1960s, is an astonishing example.

It seems that not just among public corporations and companies is management control not of the best. Banks themselves have fallen by the wayside, despite extensive supervisory measures.

The Herstatt Bank débâcle comes to mind, the dismal position of cooperative banks (the Bayerische Raiffeisen-Zentralbank has to write-off about DM1.5bn), the Hessische Landesbank, whose highly professional boss quickly led the bank into trouble, or the Deutsche Anlagen-Leasing (DAL) whose total losses probably exceed DM3bn, a financial institution that is itself owned by a major bank.

Then there is Neue Heimat, the trades union property organisation. If the report produced by the investigative committee of Hamburg's state parliament is to be believed, it seems that there was a lack of effective control of the Neue Heimat management by the trades union members of its supervisory board



It is nothing new that supervisory boards fail to work well for public limited companies. Half a century ago Professor Eugen Schmalenbach complained bitterly, "that in the main unsuitable people sit on supervisory boards. Or people who neglect their duties or who do not represent the shareholders but the interests of their own companies."

But supervisory boards do have "beneficial influences."

Professor Schmalenbach wrote: "I have been much relieved to see that directors, keen on investment, have been held back by bankers sitting on the supervisory board, who are, or were, used to liquidity."Controls should be better now than they were then. In the reform of German stock law in 1965 the rights of individual supervisory board members were augmented.

They can now demand to see the executive board's report. They can also demand written answers from the executive board on particular matters concerning the company.

Each supervisory board member has the right to take part in supervisory board committees to which he or she does not belong.

Other features have also been changed. Top executives can no longer sit on as many supervisory boards as they like. No-one can sit on more than ten (plus five in a group's subsidiaries.) But many critics claim that this number is too many.

Professor Bleicher points out that in America executives on average sit on only two or three other boards. They then have more time for their own company.

Supervisory boards in West Germany must meet four times a year, but in practice they meet eight times a year on average, excluding meetings of specialist committees.

Reducing the number of board memberships a person can hold would not increase the number of supervisory board meetings, according to Bleicher. Then supervisory board members would give more time to their own companies.

Many critics maintain that a reform of the supervisory board system is urgently required. Many call for a change to the board system as practised in America.

There the board is elected at a shareholders' meeting, and this board directs the company's policies and provides management.

Not all experts are convinced that the board system would be good for this country. Responsibility would be blurred. The board takes on the functions of the supervisory and executive boards. Nevertheless there are companies in the USA with the board system that get into trouble — Chrysler, for instance.

Supervisory board legislation, seen from the point of view of the number of appointments a person can hold, is not so bad in fact. It is just a question of utilising it to the full.

Over the past ten years there have been moves in this direction. In the past it was rare for there to be discussion between the supervisory board and the executive board in a supervisory board meeting.

Things are different today. Supervisory boards have noticeably increased their propensity to be critical.

It is important for the future that supervisory boards are filled with highly qualified people. That will not happen unless adequate remuneration is offered, although if these people are not suitable the best fee system in the world will achieve nothing.

Paul Bellinghaus

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 18 July 1986)

Stock markets appoint a supremo

Rüdiger von Rosen's task when he becomes head of the reorganised association of stock exchanges in November is to organise stock exchange reforms and make sure West Germany maintains financial clout internationally.

The association is to look after both the national and international business of the German exchanges. It is also to look at issues such as new methods of financing and trading, organisation, communications and public relations.

Von Rosen comes to the job after 12 years with the Bundesbank. His initial contract with the association is for five years.

It is now one of the Bundebank's legends that its then president Otmar Emminger said as soon as he saw Baron Rüdiger von Rosen, who was working for the bank as a freelance: You have everything I lack — you have a doctorate, you are a reserve officer and you have a title.

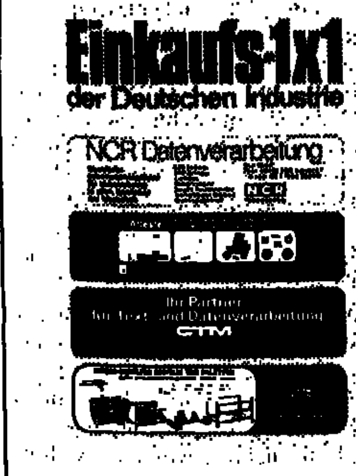
Rosen was for many years assistant to Emminger and later to the vicepresident, later president, Karl Otto Pöhl.

Pöhl appointed Rosen to be head of the Bundesbank's press and information service, and he is still its head. He rules over four departments and has more than 90 working under him.

He will not have a staff of 100 in the Frankfurt Exchange. He will have to do with a team of 11, but he does have a budget of DM3.5m for the first year.

Rosen has worked meticulously on the details of the new exchange statute. It is to be tailor-made. That is why his appointment was delayed so long, and the negotiations for it were so frequently interrupted. The Association will assume responsibility for all national business affairs of West Germany's eight stock exchanges. Its tasks will be:

- Represent the interests of West German exchanges nationally and internationally.
- Deal with national and international matters concerning stock exchange affairs, for instance the introduction of new methods of financing and trading.



Rüdiger von Rosen . . . big expectations (Photo: Bundesbank)

- National public relations and see to the publication of total stock exchange dealings.
- National organisational and technical questions concerning the German stock exchanges such as information links and improved means of communication. Rüdiger von Rosen is not empowered to disregard all the rules and regulations that have governed the stock exchange so far. Quite the contrary; he must observe them meticulously, particularly the fact that the Bundesbank is number one in banking in this country and in stock exchange dealings. This bank has the last say in many sectors.

Bundesbank chairman Friedrich Wilhelm Christians put it plainly: "The reorganisation of the Association of German Stock Exchanges was an essential step towards adjusting to the far-reaching structural changes in international financial systems." That is a clear statement to Rüdiger von Rosen what he has to do.

Dresdner Bank chairman Wolfgang Röller has a referee's role to play in this since he is one of the Association's originators.

He said: "Twelve months of partial deregulation have set off an extremely dynamic process and strengthened the position of the Federal Republic as a financial centre."

Nevertheless this financial centre is in a contradictory position.

He said: "On the one hand new markets and economic policy tools spring up and get established, but on the other hand investors and issuers are forced abroad, because here the general setting is not right."

He continued: "The exchange turnover tax impedes dealing in German mark Floating Rate Notes, Euro-bonds and mark deposit certificates."

This tax must be withdrawn, and the managing director of the Association will have to strive for this.

Rosen has a fairly free hand. He will be the basic force behind the finance centre, at least as regards organisaation and management.

At the same time he will be a member of the management board of the Frankfurt Stock Exchange, which increases his standing.

The five-year contract period has been devised so that he can weather the terms of those people elected to committees coordinate or superior to him.

The chairman and the gentlement of the council must be re-elected after 31 December 1987.

Rosen can move calmly into his new sphere of activities. His appointment is a milestone in the development of West Germany's finance centre. That is what he is expected to be.

(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 18 July 1986)

Continued from page 7

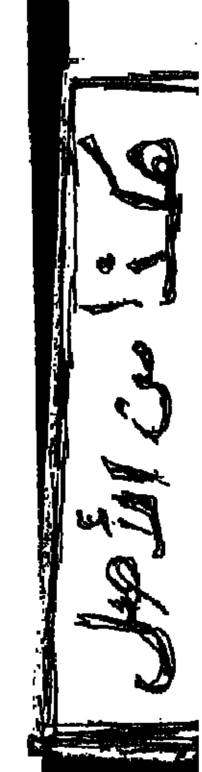
jettisoning preconceived notions for the sake of jobs in tomorrow's factories,

But the introduction of flexi-time in all its permutations will be anything but plain sailing. The unions insist that if working hours and machine hours are to be decoupled then the dependence of man on machine must be reduced.

In other words, staff must be able to decide for themselves when they want to work.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 July 1986)



■ SPACE RESEARCH

German shuttle planned to join Hermès and Hotol

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Plans for a German space shuttle, Sänger, have been submitted to Esa, the European Space Agency and now rank alongside the British Hotol and French Hermès projects.

The news of this minor sensation came in a dry official announcement:

"The German delegation presented an MBB study on a two-stage space shuttle system, Sänger, which the delegation considers to be a contribution, like Hotol, toward a joint technology study.

"The Esa Council noted these statements (on Hotol and Sänger) and the additional information submitted by the two (British and German) delegations."

This stirring news couched in less than stirring words is taken from the minutes of the 25 June 1986 session of the Esa Council, the supreme governing body of the European Space Agency.

What it means is that Esa has now noted a new German proposal for a space shuttle system named Sänger (after rocket pioneer Eugen Sänger).

The French favour their own project, Hermès, a small European space shuttle designed for a crew of four to six.

Britain's Hotol is a hypersonic aircraft with a new engine design and suitable for space travel.

Sänger, the German proposal for a European space shuttle, comes roughly midway between the French and British projects in terms of technology.

Hermès, proposed by an Aérospatiale-led consortium, is fairly modest in its technological pretensions, whereas Hotol is decidedly futuristic.

The French project is basically just a large winged re-entry vehicle with no propulsion of its own.

Hermès, 18 metres (59ft) long with a wingspan of 10 metres (33ft) and a maximum weight of 16 tonnes, is planned to be ready by the mid-1990s for launching by the Ariane 5 rocket, which, like Hermès, has yet to be designed and built.

The French shuttle will have only booster engines to adjust its position in space and not be fitted out with rockets of its own like the US space shuttle.

In effect Hermès will, or would, be no more than a payload for the Ariane 5 launcher rocket.

Hotol, the British project, is much more ambitious in size alone. It is 62 metres (203ft) long and will have a wingspan of 20 metres (66ft 6in) and an overall weight of 200 tonnes, or roughly 10 times more than Hermès.

But the chief and overriding difference between the two is that Hotol is designed to include a propulsion unit of its own, an engine that would outdo anything yet airborne.

Entirely new in design, it is intended to serve as both a jet launcher engine and a booster engine in space.

In the atmosphere, up to an altitude of say 30 kilometres, it could draw on the atmosphere for supplies of oxygen essential for combustion. At higher altitudes it would draw on liquid oxygen from its fuel tanks.

This hybrid arrangement is the first of its kind to be seriously envisaged. No engine has yet been built to work in both the atmosphere and outer space. So research and development expenditure would be enormous.

Hotol is designed to be launched horizontally from a launcher vehicle and not vertically like Hermès. Hotol would be run along a conventional airport runway on its launcher vehicle.

The launcher vehicle, or sledge, would be left behind at the end of the runway.

Fuel tanks would amount for much of Hotol's 200 tonnes. The basic structure, fairly light in weight, would weigh only 40 tonnes when it returned to Earth and landed.

British Aerospace sees Hotol's potential as both a satellite launcher vehicle and a hypersonic airliner as a unique selling proposition.

Satellites and other payloads could be launched on board a vehicle similar in size to the Concorde at only a fifth of the cost of using the US space shuttle.

A passenger version of Hotol could fly from London to Sydney in two hours.

Sänger, designed by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) and the DFVLR Aerospace Research Establishment, comes midway between the other two.

It is planned as slightly more ambitious than Hermès but less so than Hotol, for which an entirely new engine design will need to be developed.



An artist's idea of what Sänger will look like. (Photo: MBB-ERNO)

The German project is a two-stage space shuttle similar in appearance to an aircraft. It would weigh roughly 400 tonnes and has been described as looking remotely like a double-decker bus.

The first, delta-winged stage is 50 metres (164ft) long and has a wingspan of 25 metres (82ft). On landing it would weigh between 100 and 150 tonnes.

Powered by turbojet engines, this first stage would fly horizontally like an aircraft and reach six times the speed of sosund at an altitude of roughly 30 kilometres, or 20 miles.

The second-stage rocket would then ignite, taking the shuttle into outer space.

This second stage is 25 metres long, with a wingspan of 12 metres and an overall weight of 50 tonnes, including 35 tonnes of fuel.

The first stage would return to Earth and land on a runway like a conventional aircraft. So would the second stage on completion of the mission.

So Sänger would avoid many of the difficulties inherent in the British proposal. The first stage would be powered by a jet engine using atmospheric oxygen, the second by a rocket engine, thereby dispensing with a costly new hybrid design for both atmospheric and space use.

The first stage of Sänger would have much in common with a hypersonic airliner along Hotol lines, while the second stage would be able to take a much heavier payload into space than Hermès.

MBB says Sänger could carry a crew of between two and 12 and a payload up to four tonnes heavier than is planned for Hermès.

So payloads could be put into orbit at only 20 per cent of the cost of using the Ariane 5 launcher rocket.

All three space shuttle projects combine benefits to be derived from European collaboration, on which they would equally depend within the Esa framework.

They would all gain for Western Europe independent access to manned space travel, boosting European space autonomy and reducing reliance on the superpowers.

Hermès need not clash with Hotol and Sänger. The French shuttle is designed for use by the mid-1990s, whereas the British and German designs would not be available for a further decade or so.

Time is not the only advantage on Hermès' side. It is comparatively modest in technology and in other respects, making it the least expensive of the three proposals.

Yet even Hermès is expected to cost between DM3bn and DM5bn to develop, and estimates of this kind are well known to be far exceeded in practice. The more ambitious British and German projects will cost at least twice as much.

Hotol and Sänger are much more ambitious than Hermès, of course. They would put heavier payloads into orbit at lower cost and gain access for Europe to hypersonic air travel and to the next official target of US space research and development.

Last spring Washington earmarked \$530m, over DM1bn, for the development of a transatmospheric vehicle,

Anatol Johannsen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 July 1986)

■ DANCE

Shiva and Terpsichore lift the corner of an oriental veil

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Shiva and Terpsichore was the motto of a five-week International Dance Festival in North Rhine-Westphalia. Shiva is the Indian god of dancing, Terpsichore his Ancient Greek (and Western) counterpart.

Oriental and Western dancing traditions were to share the stage, as it were. Festival events were held in 16 North Rhine-Westphalian cities and towns by a joint arts secretariat in Wuppertal.

Yet only single events were held in Aachen, Remscheid and even Düsseldorf, the state capital. Most activities were held in Cologne, Leverkusen and Wuppertal.

Two years ago the festival motto was New York and Back. On both occasions the attraction lay in the counterpoint of contrasting trends in dance development.

The aim was to attract a new and wider public and to extend the traditional view of dancing further than, say, ballet.

Jochen Schmidt, ballet critic of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, was again in charge of the artistic programme. His aim was to show side by side first-class Indian, Indonesian and Western neo-classical dancing.

He succeeded impressively where Asian dancing was concerned, which was more than could be said for the Western dancing in the festival programme.

Work by Balanchine, Ashton, Tudor, Robbins and Hans van Manen were due to be performed but financial limitations and organisational difficulties thwarted many of these plans.

The Dutch National Ballet alone lived fully up to expectations with a superb performance of Balanchine's *Apollon Musagète* and *Concerto Barocco*.

The style was light and slightly subdued, forgoing to some extent the strict classical canon. It was reminiscent of the New York City Ballet.

The Nederlands Dans Theater could be sure of success, but only Jerome Robbins' *Moves* and van Manen's *Ballet Scenes* were entirely in keeping with the festival concept.

Kylian's *Heart's Labyrinth*, *L'Enfant et les Sortilèges* and *L'Histoire du Soldat* are a step forward into new aesthetic spheres of dancing.

Eliot Feld from New York similarly failed to feature the earlier, neo-classical aspect of his work, as requested, preferring to highlight his latest trends.

He performed work set to music by Charles Ives and Steve Reich. It bore the hallmark and life-style of modern city youngsters.

Even *Adieu*, 1984, danced to Hugo Wolf's Goethe *Lieder*, only remotely recalled Feld's classical period.

When the Ballet Rambert from London also proved a disappointment in the context of the festival programme there were those who wondered whether strict adherence to well-nigh academic yardsticks was not doomed to failure from the outset.

Could companies' latest developments and those of their choreographers be totally ignored? A ballet festival can hardly accomplish what a video documentary might manage.

The Asian part of the programme was entirely different, having wisely been limited to a handful of Indian and Indonesian dance styles that conveyed an exemplary idea of the overall range.

Brief introductions outlined a language of gesture and expression with which European audiences were unfamiliar, making it easier to follow what was happening on-stage.

Only the Asian view of religious feeling, inextricably interlinked with the dancing, created any real difficulty.

Indian dancing comes over at its purest and best in solo performances as given by Sonal Mansingh from New Delhi, one of the most outstanding interpreters of the soft and sensual Odissi style.

The leaps and pirouettes came as a surprise, as did the dynamic features of her performance.

The sequence is predetermined, beginning with an appeal to the Gods, continuing with the love of Krishna and Radha and ending with a moving cycle describing the eyes of man and animal.

Sonal Mansingh is a mature dancer whose approach to tradition stands in striking contrast to her emancipatory views.

Alarmel Valli from Madras in her gleaming brocade sari, young and strikingly beautiful, is incomparably refined in her speciality, Bharat Natyam.

She dances Nritta, or pure dance, and Nritya, which tells a tale, and ends with Tillana, which combines and exhausts every possibility of virtuoso performance.

Solo dancing can, of course, be extended into a double act, performed in masterly fashion by the Dhanajayans, also from Madras. Much of the pleasure they gave came from the musical accompaniment provided by the mardala drums with their complicated counter-rhythms and wide range of timbre. Another instrument played was the vina, an old string instrument, and a kind of flute with an extremely plaintive note. The song accompaniment, consisting of a basic metre overlaid by rhythmic recitation, is strangely suggestive in its tense monotony. But Indian dancing came fully into its own when the Kerala Kalamandalam performed a dance drama based on episodes from the Mahabharata, which tells the tale of a tooth-and-nail struggle between two dynasties.

Impressive though the Indian dancing was, the Indonesian dancing at the festival seemed to this writer subtler and, at least in part, more deep-seated.

This applies both to the Kokar company from Bali and to a company from the Asti college of music, Java, specially set up for the festival.

Kokar, accompanied by a gamelan orchestra, followed a display of solo dances by a scene from a Balinese dance drama based on the other leading Indian religious epic, the Ramayana.

Good and evil are compared and contrasted, but with much clearer psychological argument and language of movement.

The Asti company was the absolute highlight of the festival. Unbelievably graceful women dancers described the first journey by young girls across the sea into the wide world while young men performed a dance with the spear for which the choreography was masterly.

They finally joined forces in a mythical drama about the monkey god Hanuman, whose tale is told in the Ramayana. It was sheer aesthetic delight.

Shiva and Terpsichore are unlikely really to have met in North Rhine-Westphalia. Dancers from East and West had no opportunity of meeting and they were seldom able to see each other's performances.

But festival audiences saw a number of Western innovations, even though they may not have been entirely in keeping with the motto.

Above all, audiences were able, by virtue of the large number of without exception outstanding Asian performances, to gain a profound impression of the wide-ranging beauty and to lift a corner of the veil of an approach to dancing so very different from our own.

Helmut Scheier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 July 1986)



From Madras: the Dhanajayans in a double solo.

All feet head for Cologne's summer school

Cologne is a byword in international stage ballet. For 30 years the International Summer Academy of Dancing has been a must for well-known teachers and students.

They come from New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Budapest, London, Madrid and Toronto. This year, for the first time, there are visitors from Dresden and Leipzig too.

Over 18,000 students have been taught by about 200 instructors over the past 30 years. They see little of Cologne, working 10 hours a day at Müngersdorf Stadium for a fortnight.

The stadium gyms, normally so staid and sober, are alive with colour and graceful movement again, as they are every year in July.

Graceful creatures in adventurously colourful leotards and woolly leg-warmers dart along the corridors, from one course to the next.

Modern dancing is taught in one course, classical ballet in another and jazz or flamenco in a third.

But the choice is limited inasmuch as the organisers, first and foremost Heinz Laurenzen, who launched the International Summer Academy, apply strict and exacting standards.

And as standards of instruction have improved, so has what is expected of students. There are different categories, with only the best being allowed to attend master-classes taught by highly qualified instructors from all over the world.

Shoulder to shoulder talented youngsters train with famous solo dancers from Paris or New York. Two years ago, Laurenzen says, Sylvie Guillem, currently rated the world's best woman dancer, attended the academy.

"Training has improved all over the world," he says. Classical ballet instruction is particularly good in France at present, which is why the courses taught by Christiane Vaussard and Christina Hamel from Paris are in such demand.

Every year the organisers try to enlist fresh instructors. This year's 28 include, for the first time, Marla Bingham and Anna Marie Forsythe from New York, teaching jazz and modern dancing respectively.

Nina Corti from Zürich is teaching flamenco. She is well known as a soloist but not, as yet, as a teacher.

Other newcomers to Cologne are Ciro from Madrid; Dragomir Vukovic from Belgrade and Linda Crockett from London.

Jazz instructor Ralf Paul Haze from New York will be staying in Cologne after the summer academy. Laurenzen has signed him on for the ballet academy and the dance forum.

After [illegible] the organisation runs to a tried and trusted routine. The municipal tourist office arranges accommodation for about 600 people while a group of French mothers look after the very young ballet students.

The summer academy costs about DM200,000 to run. Some official grants help to meet expenses but the organisers have to raise between 35 and 40 per cent themselves.

Course fees are between DM100 and DM300 (an all-in fee for four to five courses). Grants are available for specially talented students.

Hundreds of applicants a year have to be turned down because courses are fully booked. Yet despite this success and possibly because of it, the summer academy may have to quit Cologne.

Heinz Laurenzen is worried by shor-

Continued on page 11

■ CHILDREN

Up and away from Earth and on to Timuria

The children's play in support of Unicef, *Timuria*, is to tour 11 German cities.

Timuria is the name of a Nepalese town at the foot of Mount Everest. The play, a kind of gift to the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef), is being staged by three artists and a group of 16 actors. It is set in a circus tent.

Unicef celebrates its 40th birthday on 11 December.

The play's creators claim that it is a completely new kind of entertainment for children, a combination of music, the atmosphere of a circus and cartoon theatre, and is aimed at adults and children alike.

In the fullest sense the public plays an important role in *Timuria*, water buckets have to be dragged in and wind made for the stage ship, and of course the *public* is expected to join in the singing.

The play will be put on in a huge circus tent that can seat 1,000. The audience reaches the tent, divided up into the world's continents; through a hopscotch (Heaven and Hell) or by a slide.

Director and actor Udo Schön from Salzburg said: "You have to say goodbye to the earth to get to Timuria in the land of fantasy." He is one of the creators of the project which is under the patronage of Swedish actress Liv Ullmann.

Jo Althöfer, a children's book writer who has also produced children's material for television, had the idea for the story on a Unicef trip to Senegal.

It tells of five children from various continents of the world travelling to World Children's country.

They go through all the continents of the world, accompanied by a clown named Phantasie, played by Anita Heteschylo, to reach *Timuria*.

Old King Timotu has bequeathed the land to the World Children, because he loves children dearly and cannot have any of his own. *Timuria* is a country that belongs to children.

The five children are accompanied by five actors representing, anxiety, courage, joy, sadness, time and love as well as the four elements sun (fire), wind (air), rain (water) and the baobab tree (the earth and symbol of life).

This part is played by a 55-year-old actor from Ghana. He narrates the story and pops up in all the scenes.

Musical motives, composed by Harry Kulzer from Munich who is a musical therapy expert, represent the five emotions and four elements.

He wrote all the music for the play, the catchy songs for everyone to join in with their highly imaginative texts as well as the modern, cosmic music representing the sun's eruptions — a sun scientist turns on the genuine sun eruptions live at all performances.

There are also earth sounds based on the meditation music of Tibetan monks. The DM1.5m needed for the *Timuria* project was provided by various firms and associations.

Unicef hopes that ticket sales will bring in funds to aid children in the Third World.

Jo Althöfer hopes to make a profit of about a million marks by the end of this year with the play.

He also hopes to get support for the idea of *Timuria* being used to amplify the motto selected for Unicef's 40th anniversary year, "World Children."

This expression is aimed at creating a sense of solidarity among children the world over, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

During the course of the play the acquisitive little boy Robert claims all the toys in a bird for himself. But he loses all his sense of feeling and joy, which teaches him to make it up with all the other children and build with them the mountainous landscape of Nepal.

This symbolises the idea of the limitless solidarity of World Children from *Timuria*.

During the interval every child in the audience will get a blue ball with a hole in the middle, symbolising the Unicef blue logo. A note with a wish on it can be pushed into the hole.

At the end of the performance all the balls will be thrown on the stage and the children's wishes will be passed on to the mayor of the city where the play is being staged.

This is the second of the play's aims — bringing the wishes of our society's smaller citizens to the attention of adults.

There will be a hymn in the finale to *Timuria*, which will be issued on a Unicef LP in September.

The first line of the hymn says "We children want a world that does not fall apart because of want."

Hildegarde Kniffka

(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 July 1986)



Clowning around in Timuria (Photo: dpa)

Continued from page 10

tage of space. The stadium gyms are no longer enough. "We are," he says, "bursting at the seams." At times sports clubs that continue to use the facilities in a more conventional manner can get in the way.

"The municipal authorities are doing their best but it's hard to find room in Cologne," he says, explaining that interesting offers have been received from other cities in Germany and abroad.

But as a director of the Cologne Ballet Academy and the Rhenish College of Music he would sooner stay in Cologne.

Ute Kaltwasser

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 July 1986)

Blow for the young: a museum for musical instruments

KielerNachrichten

A museum containing 200 musical instruments made by schoolchildren has been opened in Wuppertal.

The museum, in a turn-of-the-century house set in a garden, also includes a collection of children's drawings.

The instruments are curious. It is a special art form.

These are not professional works but small, self-made precious objects created from the fantasy world of 10 to 18-year-olds.

The background to one item on display is explained by one child: "We wanted to build a giraffe, although a giraffe is not a musical instrument, just to irritate our teacher."

The result was a guitar in the shape of a giraffe made from left-over wood.

The idea for the museum began to develop 11 years ago. According to teacher Margret Beckmannshagen the germ of the museum originated in a teaching project.

"During an instruction period we built a devil's bass. You get a stick, a can and a length of wire to make a devil's bass, that howls like nobody's business," she said.

"We made more of them and the children played on them. They plucked the wire, heard a sound and were totally fascinated. The class decided to make more of these instruments."

In the course of the year more an more school-children and classes got interested in making instruments in this way. The children were led on by the fascination of making instruments that produced sounds, and the realisation that they had created something for themselves. The children were proud of their work. They became more ambitious and wanted to build instruments that sounded better and on which they could play better music, although none of them had had any musical training. After the devil's basses they wanted to build instruments that were more resonant.

"At the time some old school desks were being thrown out. We had the idea of using this material for building resonant instruments.

There was no end to the materials source. Even iron piping was re-cycled, as it were. You quickly recognised the sound of the pipes when they are built into a barrel-organ," Margret Beckmannshagen explained.

She said that in the next few years a number of instruments were built, that unfortunately just gathered dust in the school.

She collected them together and most of them are now on display in the museum.

Several teachers from the college involved in project instruction of this kind got interested in the instruments.

They took note of the positive effects this new "work" had on the school-children:

A little later teachers and parents got together to form an association to establish the children's museum.

Generous donations, contributions from members of the association as well as financial support from the city of Wuppertal made it possible to start the museum idea off.

A tour of two rooms introduces the visitor to the curious instruments, cymbals, pipes, various kinds of guitar, banjos, lutes and kettle-drums.

The most beautiful instruments are usually the most cunningly made. It is not easy to see what some of them are at first sight.

One of the masterpieces is an *Ottifant* with an enormous kettle-drum as its belly, a tube with a trumpet mouthpiece and a wash-basin on its back.

The museum is open to all kindergarten groups and school classes. In the cellar there are two large workshops, where children can build away to their hearts' content. In summer they can work in the garden.

Almut Thölking

(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 July 1986)



An unlikely sound: Ottifant (Photo: fp)

■ THE EARTH

Jute mats used as basis to stop erosion and regenerate alpine plant life

Two large jute mats nailed to a bare, dark brown area near the summit of a peak in the Bavarian Alps look more like strips of sticking plaster than a promising new bid to stem the tide of erosion.

The jute is intended to provide a firm base for young plants to grow in. It retains both fine soil and humidity and keeps the soil in the shade. It is also organic and will eventually disintegrate and merge with the soil.

The experimental area is on the slopes of the 2,000-metre Fürschiesser, a mountain near Kempten which many hikers and visitors to the Allgäu region of southern Bavaria know.

Biologists, gardeners, engineers and geologists have chosen its slopes because they are becoming increasingly barren.

The Fürschiesser's bald patches are as striking as the green of the Alpine meadows that are so typical of an area where erosion is becoming a steadily more serious problem.

For the most part we have only ourselves to blame for erosion. New and heavier breeds of sheep are overgrazing the mountain slopes, having been introduced to replace traditional, less productive breeds.

Mass tourism — hikers in summer and skiers in winter — has played its part. Short cuts do more than cut corners off hairpin bends; in heavy rainfall they form

Süddeutsche Zeitung

channels along which water can plunge downhill, taking topsoil with it.

More and more ski runs are run through the slopes, increasing the erosion risk. The 120,000 kilometres of Alpine ski run are equivalent to a highway at least 30 metres wide running three times round the globe.

Erosion has grown particularly alarming since the mountain trees just below the Alpine meadow altitude have begun to die.

Mountain woods play an enormously important role in keeping landslides, loose scree and flood water at bay. Yet in Vorarlberg, the western tip of Austria, 95 per cent of trees have been found to be ailing.

Forty-two per cent of fir trees and 52 per cent of white spruces over 60 years old are dying. Once the trees have gone there is nothing to stop a landslide from gaining momentum and plunging more and more soil and rubble down into the valley.

Experts have long wondered how best to deal with damage already done. In 1908 Josef Stiny, a forest engineer from Graz, Austria, published a manual on "planting grass and bushes in mountain waste land as an important accompaniment to technical measures and in its own right."

So experts felt nearly 80 years ago that a combination of technical earthworks and biological measures seemed best suited to conserve the mountain environment.

Stiny says mountain grass is best planted where slopes have been laid bare by landslides.

"Grass and herb seeds are best ordered from a reliable seedsman or, better still, collected by one's own staff from a nearby site as identical as possible to the area to be replanted."

Allgäu biologist Karl Partsch and others have extended this concept to accelerate the process, bearing in mind that the fight against erosion has become a race against time.

Seed is to be collected and shoots are to be taken from nearby wild plants in autumn and grown in nurseries for a year.

At high altitudes the vegetation period is very short. Partsch says a year's growth in lowland nurseries is probably equivalent to five years' growth in the mountain glen or on the exposed Alpine slope.

It doesn't matter whether seedlings are grown in nurseries in Kiel or Lübeck, Tübingen or Kempten. Nursery plants thrive regardless where they have been grown, as field trials in which grass and vegetation have been planted to reclaim a barren Alpine ski run have shown.

The plants selected for reclaiming waste land on the slopes of the Fürschiesser are all specially suited to thrive in a harsh mountain environment. Alpine grass is particularly resilient and ingenious.

One variety has blades that droop to the ground so that seed takes root from the ear. Another shores landslips by sending out underground runners that hold loose soil together.

Six varieties of plant grow in the mesh of the jute carpet. Jute is an organic material and will sooner or later disintegrate and merge with the soil.

Until it does so its task will be to provide a firm framework within which the young plants can grow, retaining fine soil and humidity and providing shade for the soil.

The first 3,000 plants were planted in the jute matting last summer and results have so far been most encouraging.

Partsch says he and his staff were delighted at the progress made when they inspected the matting this spring, but the success of the experiment can only really be judged for several years.

It will be years before anyone can say for sure how, for instance, the 10,000 plants laid out in a further 800 square metres of jute matting last week have fared.

A notice board on last year's jute matting, which is slowly fading and merging into its Alpine surroundings, says:

"Fürschiesser I Experimental Area. Planted by Volunteers in July 1985. Prevent High-Altitude Soil Erosion. Please Take Care."

The project has so far been financed almost entirely by private donors. The nee gardeners have tended plants in their spare time. Volunteers have collected and planted seed. Scientists and master-gardeners have planned and supervised the project on a similar basis.

The Fürschiesser pilot project has the backing of the German Alpine Association. The jute carpets are mere drops in an ocean of soil erosion in the Kempten area. Will they ever be more?

"We feel it is particularly important to press ahead with the project now," Partsch says, "because mountain forest erosion is sure to gain ground.

"Similar techniques will then be needed in Alpine woodland, using other plants of course. But the method can be used anywhere, up in the hills or down in the valley."

Reclamation techniques of this kind must not serve as an alibi for policies that continue to destroy our natural environment. Progressive ecological but voc prejudices even their success.

"Alders and willows are now faltering too," Partsch warns. "*They* are the trees we have relied on in our survival strategy for the mountain forests. The situation as I see it has assumed disastrous proportions."

The mountain forest is not the only ecological system in the throes of death. Biologists and volunteers who laid out last week's jute matting on the Fürschiesser's bald patches saw unmistakable signs of further depredation.

Dwarf pines and Alpine roses, mountain heather and blueberries are shedding their leaves. Even the gorse seems to be in a state of decline.

Gorse bushes have always thrived up there yet even they now have yellow edges to their leaves, edges that weren't there last year.

Regina Oehler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 July 1986)

Sound detectors seen as key to earthquake rescue work

Many more people could have been rescued from the rubble after the earthquake in Mexico or the volcanic eruption in Colombia if the sound detector devised by a Bochum University geophysicist had been available.

Organisations ranging from the THW civil defence and disaster relief corps in Bonn to the Ruhr mining corporation have shown keen interest in Professor Heinrich Baule's three-component geophone.

It makes sounds that are normally beyond the frequency range of the human ear audible by registering ground vibrations.

The combination of a probe, a special amplifier and a headphone makes the sound of knocking or movement by people trapped underground audible in the form of loudspeaker bleeps. In pit accidents the signals relayed by trapped miners have in the past only been located up to a distance of 30 to 40 metres from the wall of the shaft.

Rescue squads using the new device can listen in to and locate signs of life hundreds of metres away.

Geophones can be linked in a chain spanning the mountains of rubble that are often all that is left after natural disasters.

Wasag Chemie in Haltern, Federal Republic of Germany, already manufacture the device, which is reported to cost between DM3,600 and DM13,000.

Mining engineers have tested the bleep in field trials and found the geophone to function accurately.

Stefan Willeke

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 15 July 1986)

■ HEALTH

Survey shows vegetarians are less disease prone

Vegetarians are widely thought to be wholemeal and wheatgerm freaks who are slightly ill due to dietary deficiencies.

A survey by the German Cancer Research Centre, Heidelberg, shows the truth is entirely different.

Vegetarians have a much lower mortality rate than meat eaters, especially mortality due to cardiac and circulatory complaints.

Vegetarians are also much less likely to die of cancer than the statistical average.

A survey by the Institute of social medicine and epidemiology at the Federal Health Office, Berlin, disproved two years ago the idea that vegetarians suffer from dietary deficiencies.

Vegetarians who eat eggs, milk, butter and cheese (ovo-lacto vegetarians as opposed to vegans, who eat nothing but foodgrain and vegetables, fruit and nuts) were found not to suffer from deficiency.

What they ate was suitable as a long-term diet for adults, whereas vegans, who don't even eat honey, could suffer from vitamin B12 deficiency.

Vitamin B12 occurs almost exclusively in animal foodstuffs, but serious diseases as a result of vegetarian diets are extremely unusual.

The latest Heidelberg survey indicates that doing without steak and schnitzel is well worth while.

A sample of 1,904 vegetarians were monitored for five years. Statistically speaking, 219 of them ought to have died during the period under review, but only 82 did, or 37 per cent of the average mortality rate.

Only half as many vegetarians died of cancer as would normally have been expected. Diet has the greatest influence on incidence of stomach cancer.

Meat and fatty foods encourage stomach cancer, whereas a high-fibre diet can afford protection from it, as earlier surveys have shown.



Statistical evidence clearly indicates a higher incidence of cancer of the colon in countries with a high per-capita consumption of animal fat and protein than in areas where vegetables and carbohydrates are the dietary staples.

The low risk of stomach cancer may also be due to few vegetarians being overweight, say Rainer Frentzel-Beyme and his fellow-compilers of the Heidelberg report.

The vegetarians they probed were far slimmer than the average German.

Very few vegetarians suffer from lung or bronchial cancer, but that is due less to their diet than to most being non-smokers, Frentzel-Beyme says.

Strikingly few vegetarians smoke in comparison with the population as a whole. About 80 per cent of the sample had never smoked.

A vegetarian diet affords no protection from brain and nerve cancer, but they seldom occur. Men in the Heidelberg sample were slightly above average in brain tumour frequency.

The Heidelberg findings largely tally with those reached by Seventh Day Adventists in California. Adventists don't drink or smoke and mostly do without coffee or tea.

They are a popular survey group with dieticians and epidemiologists. Besides, 50 per cent of Adventists are vegetarians.

Surveys of Seventh Day Adventists over 25 years ago first made scientists suspect that a vegetarian diet might afford protection from cardiac and circulatory complaints.

The Heidelberg findings impressively reaffirm earlier surmises where German vegetarians are concerned.

Statistically speaking, 118 of the 1,904 people monitored ought to have died of heart or circulation trouble; in point of fact only 36, or 30 per cent, did.

The reasons for this low mortality rate are self-evident. Factors that heighten the risk of coronary thrombosis are less widespread among vegetarians than among the general public.

Their cholesterol counts are much lower than average, as many surveys have shown. As about half the cholesterol in the Federal Republic is in sausage and meat, vegetarians have a much lower cholesterol count than non-vegetarians.

The cholesterol count in their blood increases with age but at a much slower rate than among meat-eaters.

Vegetarians are a much better-than-average risk factor where high blood ~~pressure is concerned too. Blood pres-~~ sure is lower among vegetarian Adventists than among Mormons. Neither drink or smoke, but Mormons eat meat.

Yet experiments with healthy non-vegetarians have shown that blood pressure can be reduced by putting them on a balanced vegetarian diet, including milk and eggs, for six weeks.

In all probability, says Ian L. Rouse of the University of Western Australia, Perth, a vegetarian diet reduces blood pressure by means of a complex interaction of various factors, some of which are not yet known.

Further tests with Seventh Day Adventists showed R. L. Phillips in the United States what an enormous influence a vegetarian diet exerts on the heart and circulation.

Meat-eating Adventists were found to be three times more liable to lethal coronary complaints than their vegetarian co-religionists.

As both groups are health-conscious, there can be no other known risk factor, such as drinking or smoking, involved.

Rainer Frentzel-Beyme is not prepared to go firm on a meat-free diet being the sole reason why vegetarians fare so well in comparative tests.

His vegetarian sample live much healthier than the average German in many respects. About half don't drink alcohol, tea or coffee. Their health-conscious life styles include movement and meditation.

An above-average number of vegetarians monitored work in technical and welfare trades and professions. Few if any are workers and artisans.

"The survey cannot indicate the extent to which the way of life (vegetarianism) or other qualities of people who opt for it are responsible for the lower mortality rate," he says.

Christine Broll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1986)

Warning that malaria is growing threat

A leading German specialist in tropical medicine says Western drug manufacturers and politicians are not doing enough to fight the threat of malaria.

Professor Manfred Dietrich, head of the Bernhard Nocht Institute, Hamburg, says the malaria threat is an unprecedented time bomb.

Mosquitoes are growing increasingly resistant to drugs, especially in Africa. They are even impervious to drugs not yet freely available in the West.

"Industry," Professor Dietrich says, "is dragging its feet on the development of new drugs, which is very expensive, mainly on account of indispensable field trials.

"If new drugs have to be sold at below cost price in countries affected because governments simply can't afford to pay more, then manufacturing them doesn't pay."

Hans Joachim Cramer, board spokesman of the West German Pharmaceutical Industry Association, says Professor Dietrich lacks an overview of the situation.

Herr Cramer cited two malaria research projects as exemplary: "Hoechst are working on a malaria vaccine. They have research institutes in Brazil. Hoffmann Laroche are working with the World Health Organisation on a treatment system."

He admitted that little headway was being made in Africa. Even supplying drugs free of charge wouldn't work in countries that lacked a satisfactory health system.

But there was market potential in threshold countries, while growing numbers of holidaymakers from Europe visited areas where malaria was endemic.

"Malaria research is not an exotic subject; it is research for much of mankind," Professor Dietrich says.

Its findings are relevant to cancer and allergy research and transplantation techniques. These are additional incentives for industrial countries to promote malaria research.

"Take Aids for instance," he says, "which began as an African venereal disease. The last three years of Aids research have added tremendously to our knowledge of the human body's immune system."

Professor Dietrich says about 2,000 million people live in parts of the world where malaria is endemic and between 250 and 450 million people a year suffer from the disease, which is transmitted by 50 varieties of mosquito.

"In Africa alone about one million children aged under five die of malaria," he says.

In the Federal Republic of Germany between 500 and 1,000 people a year contract malaria and between five and ten per cent of them die. They needn't die but treatment has to start within a few days.

Travellers to areas where malaria might be contracted must take malaria pills, wear sturdy clothes regardless of the heat and take precautions against insect bites. Mosquito nets are important at night.

"Malaria," Professor Dietrich warns, "is one of the most underrated diseases in the world."

Peter Heinlein

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 10 July 1986)

■ HORIZONS

An angry young script-writer ruffles feathers



Pirinçci . . . detests constant German search for the profound. (Photo: Fuchs)

Akif Pirinçci is a 27-year-old Turk who has lived in Germany since the age of nine and who writes film scripts in German. He has written a novel, *Tränen sind immer das Ende* (Tears really mean the end).

His script for the film, *Blitzkrieg*, is to be directed by *Karl Schenkel*; negotiations are taking place over his latest script, *Die Traumpolizei* (The Dream Police).

The negotiating producers, Neue Constantin Film, who produced Michael Ende's *Never-Ending Story*, say Pirinçci is one of the best young scriptwriters in Germany.

I visited this controversial figure in the small room where he lives alone in the centre of Bonn. As he talks, it is clear from his gestures that he knows he is provocative.

He has ideas about entertainment that make many people shake their heads.

His book was highly praised, but he resents that it was not seen as a "normal" book. It was a book by a Turk. It was, therefore by definition, socially significant.

Pirinçci says it was a simple love story. Why does everything here have to be pigeon-holed? Why is it not possible in Germany to write a schmalzy love story? He says it is the fault of the German mentality, their arrogance about entertainment, *their constant efforts to find profundity in everything.*

He says Germans grow up too quickly. It is frowned on to be simply highly amused, to enjoy something without looking for social consequences.

So he prefers George Lukas, director of *Star Wars* to Rainer Werner Fassbinder.

Star Wars is his favourite film. He says Lukas knows how to use old-fashioned feelings: "He uses symbolical meanings that everybody understands". But, as for Fassbinder, he just shrugs his shoulders.

As a 14-year-old Pirinçci was already writing scripts for short films and radio plays. One piece he wrote even found its way into a Swedish textbook.

He completed a secondary school education and then went to the Vienna film academy. But he could only stand it for two years.

"I was the E.T. of Vienna, something from outer space. None of my colleagues ever visited me. At the end they just about hated me," he recalls.

His enthusiasm for director Steven Spielberg and Superman meant he trod on toes at every turn. He sought entertainment where profundity was required.

So he returned to Germany and produced scripts without any admonishing forefinger. It was entertainment with action.

Akif doesn't shy away from violence in his films. "Violence is fascinating. It is almost impossible to illustrate conflict in the arts without using violence."

His book appeared seven years ago. He says it broke new ground because it was the first time a Turk in Germany had not described Turkish problems. No Turk had written a straight up-and-down love story.

He hesitated, then said: "But my book did not really reach my real public: totally normal young people."

Yet it was aimed at the teenager and the teenager's most important obsession, love.

The book, with its kitschy title (based on an Allan Ginsberg quote) deals with teenager love. The principal characters are Akif and Christa. Akif's love for Christa is time and again cast into doubt because of his fear that it would end. And end it did — dramatically.

I was given the book for my 17th birthday. My first thought on seeing its name was: kitsch. Then I read it and changed my mind. Akif became my idol: as a victim of his own suffering, as a peculiar sort of masochist but also as a complete teenager, he embodied my second self.

Now, sitting opposite Pirinçci, my youthful admiration was changing to adult empathy. He himself removed the illusion from the authenticity: "We didn't experience what Akif did in the book. We dreamed it. I appealed to a public that had those sorts of thoughts but which *didn't trust itself to say so.*

"I think the book has given some young people the courage to come out and say so." But is the real Akif not the same as the fictional Akif? Had I read it all so wrongly?

He grinned: "No, you're right, of course. I did go through this experience. However, in the book, Akif is a hero. Everything that he says seems correct because it is so subjectively represented. That sort of hero doesn't live in real life."

Pirinçci says America has a much more receptive attitude towards his type of writing than Germany. He would like to go there, but it would be too big a step.

He illustrates his point about the constant German search for social meaning by referring to the Cannes film festival. A film by Turkish director Tevfic Baser called *40 sq m* in which he portrayed the isolation of an Anatolian woman in Deutschland as the clash of two cultures won high praise.

Pirinçci says: "If I made a film about the experiences of a Turk in Germany, my future would be secured. I would get immediate film promotion support (negotiations over his Dream Police script depend in part on receiving a subsidy from the Bavarian film promotion body)".

But he won't do it, just to be shoved into a pigeon-hole. He will continue to write what he enjoys and what he finds important.

He used to be so short of cash that he had to work as a stage hand at the opera. He has also worked in a factory.

Those days have gone. Today he writes a page a day and sets his hope in today's young generation "because a generation is growing up that knows exactly what it wants." Perhaps that covers exactly what Akif Pirinçci has wanted for a long time.

Michael Fuchs

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 28 June 1986)

German singer sets Turks rolling on their ottomans

The singer comes on stage to a burst of applause from the wedding guests. Emine is dressed in black with a plunging neckline and broad waist sashes. At first, she sounds a little unsure and her hip movements are a little wooden.

But she quickly settles down to a rhythm. Her singing is supported with hand movements full of reproach or devotion.

The long tables round the dance floor are packed. Older women, most of them with the traditional headscarf, watch the performance thoughtfully. Small children play in the hall and fan themselves with paper plates to try and keep the pervading heat at bay. A five year old shakes its hips and shoulders in imitation of the singer.

The occasion is a Turkish wedding in the Berlin suburb of Neukölln. The singer is singing Turkish songs and, between numbers, talking in rapid, fluent Turkish with the audience. But she is tall, blonde and blue-eyed. She is German.

She is known professionally as Alman Emine. The audience like her. A small girl, sent by her father, runs up to the singer and places a 50-mark note in her bodice and runs back giggling.

Five minutes later another 50-mark note is placed in the same place by the dextrous fingers of a man. The money stays where it is until the end of her appearance when it is shared out with the orchestra.

Alman Emine, whose real name is Elisabeth Mengel, explains that the habit of putting the money in the front of the dress *originates from the belly dance.* One habit that hasn't been carried over is grabbing the performer. "The men really go in and grab the belly dancers, but not the singers."

Sometimes, she performs at pubs and clubs but she prefers to sing at family gatherings such as weddings or engagement parties.

In line with Koran teachings, there is no alcohol, only Coca-Cola and Fanta. This

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

in no way dampens spirits: it is an occasion for lively dancing.

On this occasion, the wedding can also be watched on video. The bride and groom, confetti in hair, sit behind a table decorated with flowers and presents. A 100-mark note flaps from the breast of the bride, but the wrong significance should not be read into this: she has not been bought.

It is a taste of what is to come. Guests are announced over the microphone and to bursts of applause they take their gifts of money or jewellery and pin them on the couple. As Elisabeth and I left, chains of money hung from the couple like military decorations.

On the way to the second wedding of the day, Elisabeth told how she began her unusual job. At university she was a member of a Turkish club and sang in a Turkish folk-song choir. Then one day she was humming during a singalong in a Turkish nightclub when the pianist pressed the microphone into her hand.

"He had to show me first how to hold the thing." She started to learn more and more songs and began regularly to sing for money in pubs and at weddings. She also sang for a time at a Turkish bazaar.

She didn't get involved in music through her Turkish connection. "I used to always sing in a choir. After my Abitur (university entrance examination) I wanted to be an opera singer."

But even with her musical ear, she had to first get used to the Eastern sounds of Turkish music.

Is it possible for people who have not grown up as Turks to learn to sing Turkish songs? After all, to most Germans it sounds like caterwauling cats.

"No foreigner has ever sung the songs I sing," she says. But there are songs which she would not attempt. "You would have to grow up among Turks to handle them."

Elisabeth has lived almost entirely among Turks for three and a half years. She speaks Turkish and has a Turkish boyfriend and eventually will settle down in Istanbul (she even knows in which suburb) and work as a singer.

During her performance, she had been asked by a small girl if she was *Turkish or* German. She is often asked. *"Sometimes I* say my father is German, my mother German and I am a Turk. *For the* Turks I am naturally a star, their one and all. They accept me as a Turkish woman and are proud of me. That is only possible because in private life I live as they do."

At the second wedding, a car with a bride puppet on the bonnet shows us the way to the reception hall. Emine-Elisabeth says that at first she did not want to sing here because it was a meeting *place for an* extreme exile Turkish political group, the Grey Wolves, who have been involved in violence. However, "the *family* renting the hall are totally non-political."

Behind the stage, a German alpine motif is partly covered by a Turkish flag. A poster proclaims the name of the group playing, Grupa Ascna. It is still not clear if Emine will sing with them or not; nothing has been decided in advance.

"This Turkish chaos," she complains. It is the first unfriendly word she has said about Turks ("I know how the Germans will react to that. They will immediately see all their prejudices confirmed.").

In this company, she is also known. There have already been articles about her in Turkish newspapers. "What I have read about myself staggers belief." One article said she was a former belly dancer. It had been written that she had two boyfriends whom she played off against each other.

"Sometimes the papers don't even bother to talk to me before they write anything." There is plenty written about her private life, which is not surprising considering the nature of her work.

"I am also a German and don't always behave like a Turkish woman. They have to accept that."

The corollary of that is that since she has become Alman Emine, she her circle of German friends has grown small.

"First, I have got used to many Turkish customs and now I don't want to abandon them.

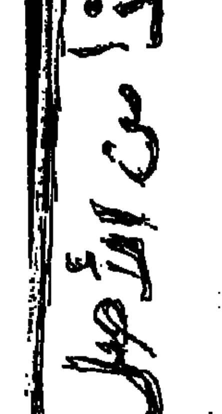
"Second, it annoys me when Germans view my work only as a temporary aberration."

Her parents have great difficulty getting used to the idea of having a daughter who is a Turkish singer ("they regard it as a frivolous occupation").

But if you have an exhibitionistic streak, you have to let it run, says Alman Emine. "If I couldn't go on the stage, I would become ill."

Dorothée Nolte

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 13 July 1986)



■ CRIME

The hair-raising case of the perspiring heroin smuggler



Customs officials in West Germany investigated 12,000 cases of drug-smuggling last year.

They found approximately 7,900 kilograms of hashish, more than 2,500 kilograms of marijuana, 175 kilograms of heroin, 162 kilograms of cocaine and more than 25,000 LSD tablets.

Although the number of cases has remained more or less constant there has been a considerable increase in the quantities of drugs confiscated by customs officials.

The 1984 annual customs report issued by the Finance Ministry stated that "*only*" about 1.7 tons (just over 1,700 *kgs*) of smuggled hashish had been *intercepted* and 374 kilograms of marijuana.

Customs officials were also much more successful last year in discovering smuggled weapons, ammunition and explosives than in 1984.

In addition the customs service's network confiscated more smuggled gold, individual people's nest-eggs illegally acquired in Luxembourg without paying value-added tax as well as lots handled by international gold smuggling rings.

This is an example of how customs officers work. A young man caught the eye of an officer at Frankfurt airport. He was apparently bored at having to stand in the departure queue. He brushed away a few drops of sweat from his forehead, so dislodging slightly the wig he was wearing.

This set alarm bells ringing in the customs officer's head.

He asked the traveller to take off his wig. As he refused to do so the customs officer was almost one hundred per cent certain that he had unmasked a smuggler.

When the wig was removed there was concealed in it 350 grams of heroin.

Smugglers have very sophisticated methods of bringing their "white wares" into the country. Customs officials have got to know most of them.

Last December a woman wanted to bring into the Federal Republic a wicker bottle of wine. She acted suspiciously.

Customs officials had the wine analysed and it was discovered that cocaine had been mixed in it.

The customs service crime squad in Cologne has discovered that there is a wide-spread smuggling organisation that uses this method to bring drugs to the West German market.

Drug-pushers also use doctored cans of soft drinks.

Then a customs official in Frankfurt stumbled upon an extraordinary "stone" recently.

He found it in the suitcase of an alleged dealer in minerals from Columbia. The man had hidden away 900 grams of cocaine in a lump of concrete. He had painted the "lump" and decorated it with a couple of semi-precious stones.

The customs officer was not put off by this ruse and confiscated the stone. A hole was bored into it and the drug discovered. Smugglers do not flinch from involving members of their own families in their dirty business nor innocent third parties.

A man and wife with two children were discovered with 18 kilograms of heroin on their way back from Turkey. The drug was concealed in compartments welded into the vehicle's mudguards. The father was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment.

Great care should be taken with cycling holidays. Customs officials tell of advertisements that announce "packet cycling tours."

Those interested in the advertisement are invited to go to Holland by train to pick up a bicycle and return with it over the frontier.

The "packet" is not quite what the cyclists expect, cycling with back-up transport, but the bicycle itself. It is loaded with heroin and the dealer is waiting at the meeting point for it.

People under suspicion are sometimes obliged to take a medical examination, because drugs can be carried in special packets in the intestinal tract.

The carrier swallows up to 150 small grape-size containers and excretes them when on the other side of the frontier.

Double-soled shoes are used in drug-smuggling, belts with concealed compartments and clothes with secret pockets.

Some smugglers try to dupe customs officials by boldly carrying drugs in their hands.

More and more drugs are being carried in the passenger compartment of a saloon car. Customs officials take this as a sign that smugglers are getting more audacious. The increasing number of drug confiscations shows as well that customs officers and police responsible for drug-trafficking controls, are not inactive.

A new building is being constructed in Wiesbaden which will house the department set up at the beginning of this year to tackle the drug problem.

Last year the Bundestag approved recruiting 45 additional officers to carry on the fight against drug trafficking.

Nancy Reagan, President Reagan's wife, at the economic summit in Bonn called for greater international cooperation in waging war on drugs.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann proposes to increase the staff in the department concerned from 250 to 300.

Liaison officers from the federal crime office can only operate in several states, known to be either countries where drugs are cultivated or as transit states, with considerable official difficulty. The Lower Saxony police have put in service a pig, named "Luise," in their efforts to combat drug-trafficking. Frontier post customs officials have in the past used only dogs to sniff out illegal imports and exports.

Specially trained personnel, expert at searching ships, have also been successful in confiscating drugs.

They are known as "The Black Gang" and last year confiscated eight tons of hashish and marijuana in two exercises mounted in Hamburg port.

According to statements issued by the customs office cannibis products are principally transported either by road or rail. The centre of focus in this traffic is the German-Dutch frontier.

The customs report points out that there has been a slide to the Belgian, Luxembourg and French frontiers for transit to Austria and Denmark.

Many drug-traffickers are caught when they purchase drugs in Holland and make a wide detour to the destination country, hoping to reduce the risk in this way.

Heroine and Cocaine are brought into the country mainly by air, with Frankfurt being the centre of this criminal business.

There are approximately 50,000 drug-addicts in the Federal Republic, always on the look out for "new stuff."

But there is good news here also. The number of addicts is no longer increasing, and in fact dangerous heroin consumption has declined. There have been fewer deaths from drugs every year since 1983.

Last year 315 died from drug-abuse. Two years ago there were 472 deaths.

The drug advisory service has discovered that the average age of people likely to take to drugs has increased. Fewer and fewer young people are getting hooked.

Nevertheless the drug problem has not been solved.

The action the Bonn government proposes to take about drug addiction will be announced shortly after the cabinet has had time to consider the first report on addiction in the country.

Wolfgang Koch

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 July 1986)

Continued from page 3

nuclear energy? Why does the Berlin section of the SPD of all sections attack the policies of the USA so strongly?

Why did Helmut Schmidt feel obliged to remind the SPD of what they owe to Herbert Wehner, namely the clear commitment to the West and to the principles of a free market economy?

The course of the SPD seems to be too muddled as to allow Johannes Rau to cover up the problems.

The aim of an absolute majority for the SPD thus seems unattainable and hence incredible.

It is understandable why the call for a new fundamental political change can be heard from the supporters of the SPD and Greens but not from those voters who are still undecided.

During recent years political issues have changed at an often breathtaking pace.

For this reason it is impossible to predict which issues will dominate the general election campaign.

The still high unemployment level, the nuclear energy issue, the success or failure of a possible second summit meeting?

Other issues may even play a major part, such as the dispute between the parties over legislation against terrorism or the political asylum problem.

Whichever issues prevail the parties will be splattering plenty of venom.

On the one hand, against the "nuclear" parties which have forgotten about the unemployed; on the other, against the "unpatriotic" Red-Green anarchists who sell our freedom to Moscow.

The more individual parties become aware of their shortcomings the more they will try to distract attention by attacking their opponents.

This is the initial situation.

When all the fuss of the coming months has died down, we shall probably discover that nothing has really changed.

Adrian Zielcke

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 July 1986)

Decline in both drug addicts and deaths

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

In 1979 the number of drug-abuse deaths reached a record high of 623 cases, but last year the figure registered by the police fell to 315.

These figures were revealed in a report on the misuse of alcohol, illegal drugs and medicines drawn up by Health Minister Rita Süssmuth for the Cabinet.

The report stated that the number of drug-addicts in the country was less than 50,000 and that there was a slight tendency for the figure to continue declining.

There are about 1.5 million alcoholics in the country, and between 300,000 and 500,000 who are dependent on medicines.

The West German drug-addiction centre, however, claims that there are 800,000.

The 125-page ministry report also covered "the misuse of chemical solvents" and "smoking and the misuse of tobacco."

The cautious optimism of the report as regards drug consumption is based on the fact that crimes involving drugs and the possession of drugs dropped at the beginning of the 1980s and have remained constant since then.

Furthermore the number of new addicts registered by the police fell from *6,091 in 1980 to 2,770 in 1984.*

There has been a slight decline in heroin consumption as well.

The largest group of drug-takers, 26 per cent, is made up of unemployed. In sociological terms manual workers are more prone to drug-taking, 14 per cent, than salaried employees (11 per cent).

Since 1980 there has not been a single child death due to drugs, that is a person below the age of 15.

As there has been a steady increase in the age of those killed by drug-abuse it is assumed that there is a greater consciousness of the dangers of drugs among young people, particularly heroin.

The figures for drug-abuse last year show that of the 61,000 drug offences, 15,000 involved heroin, almost 40,000 cannabis and only 2,343 cocaine.

At the beginning of the 1970s there were no drug advisory centres in West Germany, but since then 900 have been set up, each of which advises and aids on average 670 clients (there are 500,000 in total.) These centres have now reached the limit of their resources.

There are in each centre, apart from administrative personnel, at least four full-time workers, two part-time staff and six voluntary assistants.

The centres have a 60 to 70 per cent success rate in weaning people away from drugs.

Insurance companies had to pay out almost DM460m for 22,100 cases medically treated as out-patients in 1984.

In dealing with alcoholism future attempts to come to grips with the problem will centre on "social drinking."

The report's optimism in this sector is based on the fact that ten year's ago 46 per cent of young people admitted in a questionnaire that they had been drunk. In 1984 only 31 per cent admitted to this.

Eberhard Nitschke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 July 1986)